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ECONOMICS, POLITICS, AND THE SUBJUGATION
OF THE
CREEK INDIANS

by

J. Anthony Paredes

and

Kenneth J. Plante

FINAL REPORT

for

National Park Service Contract CX500041689,
"An Ethnohistorical Investigation of the
Acculturation and Political Organization of the
Creek Indians from 1796-1832,"
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October 1975

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ERRATA

- p. vii following Map 11...Southeast, add (after Myer 1928).
Map 11 (following page 32) - add (after Myer 1913).
p. 113, line 28 "arena" not "arcen"
p. 127, line 22 "frequent" not "fequent"
p. 155, line 25 "official" not "individual"

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Abstract

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J.A.P.
K.J.P.
October 4, 1975
Tallahassee, Florida

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Introduction

The initial objective of this research was to examine in broad detail the acculturation and political organization of the Creek Indians during the period 1796-1832, as background for the Creek war of 1813-14. Definition of the time period to be studied was arbitrarily set by what appeared to be two critically important historical events. Benjamin Hawkins' appointment as Indian agent for the Southeast in 1796 was selected as a beginning date for this investigation. The year 1832 was chosen as the ending date because the so-called Creek Removal Treaty was signed in that year.

As we proceeded in the examination of the historical and ethnographic sources it became clear that both the topical scope and the historical period of the research needed to be reconsidered, given the time constraints (approximately one year) for the completion of the study. A detailed investigation of acculturation in all aspects of Creek culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would not be possible at the present time and probably would be superfluous. Swanton's various studies of the Creeks (e.g. 1922, 1928a) remain the standard in ethnohistorical reconstruction of Creek culture. Little could be gained by attempting to improve upon Swanton's salvage ethnography of the Creeks. Perhaps more importantly, it soon became clear that some

aspects of Creek Indian lifeways in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were more directly relevant to an understanding of processes of change and adaptation than were others. Thus, several major "compartments" of Creek culture, such as religion and child-rearing, are dealt with only indirectly in this report. It should be understood that this study does not pretend to represent a total ethnography of the Creeks during the period under investigation. Neither is this report a detailed historical study of the events surrounding the Creek War of 1813-14. Early works by Pickett (1851), Woodward (1859), and Halbert and Ball (1895) provide lively, detailed accounts of important events in the political and military history of the Creeks and the Creek War. More recently, studies such as those by Debo (1941), Cotterill (1954), Young (1961) and Doster (1974) stand as excellent examples of the application of modern historical scholarship to the understanding of the dispossession of the Creeks and their relations with the United States Government. Appendix B presents a brief chronological outline of important events in Creek history.

What this study has attempted, is to identify the major demographic, economic, social, and cultural dynamics underlying processes of change among the Creek Indians prior to their removal to Oklahoma in the 1830's. Our approach has been one of combining historical materials, earlier scholarly interpretations, and ethnographic data in the context of contemporary anthropological perspectives to produce an

ethnohistorical analysis of the socio-cultural system emergent in the interaction between Creeks, Europeans, Americans, and other Indian groups. In our efforts to understand the factors determining the course of change among the Creek Indians we have been guided by a number of very general considerations. First, we have made the assumption that the actions of the Creek Indians presented in the historical record can best be understood as adaptive responses to pressures of the existing physical and social environment. Although prominent historical figures may have been the instruments for the playing out of various adaptive strategies employed by different segments of the Creek population, the basic forces affecting the course of change were of a depersonalized, cumulative nature, locking Indians and whites in a complex network of relationships which was beyond the control of either. Secondly, while focusing our attention on the Creek Indians we were guided, nonetheless, by the general view contained in Red, White, and Black (Hudson 1971) that "the Old South" has been treated by various branches of scholarship in a way which is far too compartmentalized and fails to comprehend the Old South as a culturally pluralistic, complex social system. Thus, in some senses studying Creek history per se artificially extracts but one element in the total system -- the Creek people. Finally, complementing the "adaptational response model" which we have adopted for understanding overall patterns of change, we have been inspired by the recent writings of political anthropologists,

in particular Bailey (1969), for interpreting the mechanics of power and influence among the Creeks during the period under investigation.

In order to accomplish our goals, the original time period, 1796-1832, was found to be somewhat inappropriate. Despite the influence which Benjamin Hawkins may have had, the fundamental processes for change in Creek society must be traced back to at least the early eighteenth century, if they are to be properly understood. Conversely, from a purely analytical standpoint, events in the twenty years following the Creek War of 1813-14 may be viewed as merely the final, tragic "winding down" of economic and political processes begun a century earlier. Consequently, we have devoted somewhat less attention to the post-War period than originally intended; however, detailed ethnohistorical research on this period should be conducted in the future in order to provide anthropological background for the understanding of modern Creek history.

As called for in the original proposal, this research has depended primarily on published reports, documents, and studies. However, a number of archival sources were utilized as well. Source materials were consulted at the following locations:

1. Robert Manning Strozier Library,
Florida State University
2. Florida State Library, Tallahassee, Florida
3. P.K. Yong Library, University of Florida
4. Amelia Gayle Gorgas Library,
University of Alabama

5. Alabama Department of Archives and History,
Montgomery, Alabama
6. Ethnographic Archives, Museum of
Natural History,
Smithsonian Institute
7. United States National Archives,
Washington, D.C.

Notes were recorded on 5" X 8" cards and filed according to a coding system developed specifically for this study. A complete, catalogued set of Xerox copies of the collection of approximately 1,500 note cards has been deposited with the Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service at Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. Also on file at the Center is the complete bibliography of published sources for this study, including over one hundred items consulted but not directly cited in this report.

The pressure of time and limitations of resources have not permitted us to prepare as detailed analysis of processes of Creek Indian social and cultural change as we ideally would like. Nevertheless, it is hoped that our interpretation of the materials compiled in this report will serve as a useful framework for the generation of new questions and hypotheses for the study of social change among the Creeks and other American Indians by historians and anthropologists.

Chapter I: Demographic Background

The first documented contact between Europeans and peoples whose descendants would become the Creek Nation was between the DeSoto expedition of 1539-40 and Muskogee towns of southeastern Georgia (Swanton 1922:118). In the century and a half that followed there was apparently relatively little contact with Europeans. During this long period, it is rather uncertain as to what socio-cultural changes were occurring in Creek life, but it would not be unusual, given our knowledge of the effects of white contact in other parts of the North American continent, to assume that the introduction of European goods through aboriginal trade networks was increasing. In addition, there were probably important changes in the Creek population characteristics. Peterson (1975) has discussed the possibility that the native situation encountered by seventeenth and eighteenth century European settlers in the Southeast was not truly representative of aboriginal conditions. He suggests that during the period from initial, temporary contacts with whites to the beginnings of intensive white settlement, there may have been major changes in the population and socio-political structure of many of the tribes of the Southeast, brought about by the introduction of European diseases and the general impact of European settlement in peripheral areas.

At any rate, by the mid-1700's the English colony of Georgia was established on the eastern edge of Creek territory and there were Spanish and French population centers to the south and southeast of the Creeks. By this time the Creeks had removed from the Augusta and Savannah areas of eastern Georgia. This movement was in part a repercussion of the Yamassee War of 1715. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Creek territory was confined to western Georgia and most of Alabama. Map 1 shows the distribution of Creek towns during the period concerned with in this report. By the mid-eighteenth century the Creeks were already identified as being divided into two basic groups: the Lower Creeks, occupying towns along the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers, and the Upper Creeks, who were settled along the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, primarily in Alabama but also with towns in western Georgia.

Population: 1755-1800

In the Edmund Atkin Report of 1755 (Jacobs 1954:43) the population of gunmen within the Creek Nation (that is, a count of all able-bodied men) was as follows: Upper Creeks, 1,180; Lower Creeks, 1,200; and "Savanoes" (probably Shawnees), 185, giving a total of 2,565 men in the Creek Nation in 1755. Forty-five years later, according the Hawkins' census of 1799, the Lower Creeks numbered 430 gunmen and the Upper Creeks, 1,111, giving a total of 1,541 (Swanton 1922: 435-437). Unfortunately, all the available census figures

THE CREEK NATION

UPPER TOWNS

1 ATLADUEE	45 AUTOS KATCHEE	29 TUKABAHCHEE TALLAHASSEE
2 PAUNACTA	46 MONTLEWAGT	30 UMBULTACHAPEE
3 TOOWISA	47 KIALAGEE	31 ECHUSELIGAU
4 ECUNCHATA	48 ATAN	32 OCK TALNAUSAUDEE
5 COOSAUDEE	49 TALASSEE	33 HILLABEE
6 TUSKEE	50 EULABEE	34 HINOKFAU
7 MOACHOIOOCHEE	51 TUKABAHCHEE	35 WIMOKKA
8 HICKORY GROUND	52 TALLASSEE TALLAHASSEE	36 PUCKY TALLAHASSEE
9 SANDELLAU	53 CHATTUOCHPAULEE	37 TALLISHATCHEE
10 MUKLASA	54 SAOGANATCHEE	38 ABHUKUTCI
11 SAWANOH	55 EUPAULA	39 TOBICAUGA
12 ECUNHUTKEE	56 OXFUSKEE	40 LATHLOSOLGA
13 KOLOW	57 CHATTUOSOMA	41 UTOHANGA
14 FUSHATCHEE	58 NEW YAUCAU	

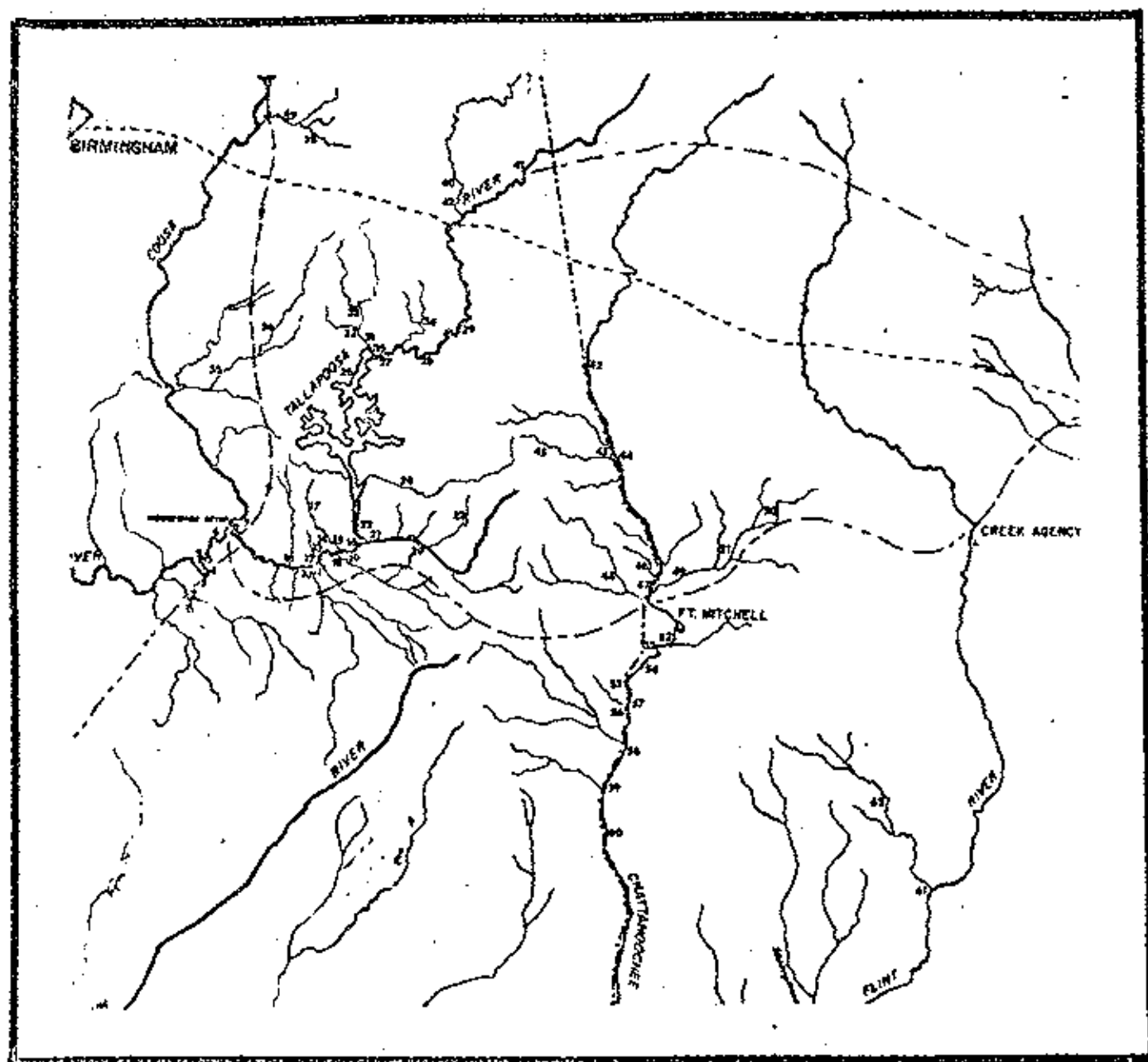
LOWER TOWNS

42 CHATTONOOCHE	49 KASINTA	56 PALLACHOOCHE
43 OAKFUSKEENENE	50 AUPUTTANEE	57 OCOOEE
44 OXFUSOOCHEE	51 COTONAU	58 SAUWOOALDOOCHEE
TALLAHASSEE	TUSTUMHUBEE	59 EUPAULA
45 PUCKAUSOGAU	52 TUCH	60 OXTEGOCOOCHEE
46 COWETA	53 OBOON	61 HITCHETOOCHE
47 BROKEN ARROW	54 HITCHITI	62 OUTALLOOSEE
48 COWETA TALLAHASSEE	55 CHEANCHOOCHEE	

- — — — ROUTE OF JACKSON'S ARMY
- — — — THE LOWER CREEK TRADING PATH
- — — — THE MIDDLE CREEK TRADING PATH
- — — — TRAIL FROM UPPER CREEKS TO PENSACOLA

NOTE: TOWN LOCATIONS CALLED AFTER SWANTON, 1922.

Map I: The Creek Nation



for the Creeks up through the time of Hawkins are presented only as numbers of men, sometimes gunmen, sometimes hunters, and neither all towns nor even the same towns were counted. Thus, it is very difficult to have precise figures on the total population of the Creek Nation prior to 1799.

However, one source provides the general statement that prior to the Creek War of 1813, the total population of the Creek Nation did not exceed 25,000 souls (Niles Weekly Register December 5, 1818:271). Likewise, Swan in 1790 estimated that the fifty-two towns comprising the Creek Nation contained approximately 25,000 to 30,000 "souls," of which five to six thousand were reported to be warriors (Swan 1855:263). By 1803, Benjamin Hawkins estimated that the Creeks within the United States' jurisdiction did not exceed 3,500 gunmen, and estimated that the number of Seminoles and Creeks in Spanish territory numbered approximately 1,000 gunmen (Forbes 1931:279). In addition to their incompleteness, the validity of these population figures must be understood in the light of conditions of the time and the difficulties of compiling an accurate census of native peoples at this time in an area relatively free from Euro-American domination. (Even in the twentieth century, it is well recognized by the United States Census Bureau that determining accurate population figures, particularly for minority groups, is a difficult procedure.) Nonetheless, by using a gunmen:total population ratio of 1:4.0 derived from Swan (1855:263),¹ we estimate the total Creek population in Atkins' time (1755)

as 8,978 individuals. Comparing this approximation for 1755 to Swan's estimate of 25-30,000 for 1790, the Creek population appears to have more than doubled during the last half of the eighteenth century. However, it is difficult to determine whether or not some of the later figures might include whites and Negro slaves living in Creek territory. If this were true, it would be reasonably important in view of the fact that Meek (1857:238) gives a population of 500 whites and 250 blacks on the Tensaw and Tombigbee Rivers in 1801. Likewise, another source (Abernathy 1965:19) indicates that in 1810 slaves made up nearly forty percent of the population on the Lower Tombigbee River. The question of the possible inclusion of whites and blacks in Creek population figures aside, it appears reasonably certain that during the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, the population of Creek Indians was increasing rather dramatically. As corroboration of this estimate of population increases, based upon Atkin and Swan, it should be noted that Swanton's compilations (1922:434-7), which do not include the Atkin data, appear to be based on a straight 3.5 multiple of population figures of warriors, and Swanton's figures also show a doubling of Creek population between ca. 1750 and ca. 1790. In conclusion, then, it seems reasonably certain that the Creek Indians were experiencing a rapid increase in population at precisely the same time that white settlers were encroaching on their eastern border. Although it is difficult to provide thorough documentation from an

ecological standpoint, it should follow that the Creeks were beginning to experience increasing population pressures as their numbers swelled and their territory diminished.

In view of the fact that the Upper Creeks have been regarded as the primary instigators of the Creek War of 1813-1814, it is instructive to compare the population changes of the Upper Creek towns to those of the Lower towns. Again, using Atkin's census with a multiple factor of 3.5, the total population of the Upper Creeks in 1755 may be estimated as 4,778 and the Lower Creeks as 4,200 in the same year. For the end of the eighteenth century there are no total censuses of Upper and Lower Creeks; those available include only a portion of the towns in each area. However, using the most complete census of "men" available, Marbury (Ibid.),² with the multiplier factor of 3.5, we arrive at an estimated population for the Upper Creeks in 1792 of 8,750 but for the Lower Creeks, only 3,868. Thus, these estimates indicate that the bulk of the population increase in the Creek Nation as a whole occurred amongst the Upper Creeks, whose population increased by eighty-three percent. In fact, according to our extrapolations, the Lower Creeks actually lost in population by 332 individuals during the thirty-seven years between the Atkin census and the Marbury census. It would appear then that the Upper Creeks were experiencing considerably more population pressure than were the Lower Creeks, who remained relatively stable in their population. However, we must hasten to

caution that the census figures are subject to considerable variation as a result of differences in the numbers of towns included, as evidenced by Swanton's compilation of censuses through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries wherein there is a wide variation in the number of towns which were included. A summary adaptation of Swanton's table of censuses incorporating the more recently published Atkin data is shown in Table I; also refer to detailed projections of population trends contained in Appendix A.

Population: 1811-1845

Following the defeat of the Creeks and the establishment of United States supremacy over the Creek Nation in 1814, census figures are probably considerably more reliable in that nearly all of the towns are included in later United States censuses, and accurate population counts were necessary for implementing the removal of Creeks to Oklahoma. In 1825 the number of Creeks remaining in Georgia and Alabama was estimated as 20,000 (Niles Weekly Register February 5, 1825:364). At this time, only a small portion of the Creeks (approximately 3,000) had relocated to the West (Ibid.). Thus, eleven years following the Creek War, the number of Creeks appears to be roughly the same as it was immediately before the war. However, earlier in 1818 a number of sources (Ibid.:266) indicate a population of perhaps only 16,500. One source states "the entire population of the Creeks, prior to the civil war among them, concluding in 1815, was upward of twenty thousand at present, it does not exceed

Table I: Creek Population During the 18th
and Early 19th Centuries
(Based on Swanton [1922:434-443])

<u>Authority</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Men/Warriors</u>		<u>Total Population</u>
		<u>Upper</u>	<u>Lower</u>	
Spanish manuscript	1738	1306	757	7,220
French census	1750	865	398	4,420
Atkins	1755	1365	1200	8,978
French census	1760	2575	1030	12,618
Georgia colonial documents	1761	1390	770	7,560
Taitt	1772	715	470	4,148
Marbury	1792	2500	1105	12,618
Hawkins	1799	1111	430	5,394
U.S. census	1832	14320	7408	21,733

half that number" (Kiles Weekly Register December 5, 1818: 266). So, apparently the Creeks suffered considerable losses during the Creek War, but they had recovered almost to their pre-war population level by 1825. This trend continued, and by the census of 1833 the Upper Creeks numbered 14,142 (including 445 Negro slaves) and the Lower Creeks, 8,522 (including 557 Negro slaves), yielding a total population for the Creek Nation as a whole of 22,666. It is important to note that this 1833 census includes individuals who were already living at that time in Oklahoma (Schoolcraft 1860:216). During the 1830's the program to remove the Creeks to Oklahoma was accelerated considerably, and by 1845, according to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs:Annual Report of 1845: 448), only about 160 Creeks remained in Alabama and Georgia.³

In summary, despite problems in the quality of the available data, the evidence suggests that from at least the mid-eighteenth century to the time of the Creek War of 1813-14, the total population of the Creek Nation underwent a rapid increase. However, the bulk of this increase was by the Upper Creeks, while the Lower Creeks in fact may have been losing population. Following the Creek War there was an initial decrease in the population of the Creek Nation, but within at least twenty years the total population had recovered to approximately its pre-war level.

It is suggested here that one of the important ecological forces bearing upon the Creek people during the critical period immediately preceeding the Creek War was their own

rapidly expanding population. Such population changes appear to have been most pronounced amongst those who were the farthest removed from intensive white settlement, namely the Upper Creeks. Therefore, we tentatively state that an increase in population was one factor which precipitated the Creek War. At the very least, population increase was a factor to which Creek society as a whole had to adapt. It remains to be seen whether this apparent increase in population, particularly in the Upper towns, actually was straining the available resources of the Creek economy.

Footnotes

1. According to Swan (1855:263) "the useless old men, the women and children may be reckoned as three times the number of gun-men...."
2. See Appendix A for further explication.
3. For comparative purposes it might be useful to note that McNickle (1973:178) gives the 1969 population of Creek Indians in Oklahoma as 16,640. This is probably an underestimate which excludes Creek Indians and Creek descendants incorporated in the general population of the United States. Also, McNickle's figure probably does not include the several hundred Eastern Creeks of Alabama, Florida, and Georgia.

Chapter II: Subsistence and Economy

The most fundamental aspect of any cultural system is the means of production and the distribution of goods and services within the society. The purpose of this chapter is to examine in broad outline the basis of subsistence amongst various elements of the Creek Nation during the late eighteenth century, through the Creek War, and into the removal period. In particular, we will be concerned with the impact of white contact on Creek economy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The towns of which the Creek Nation was comprised presumably had as their aboriginal subsistence base the same general kind of economy characteristic of much of the native Southeast: fairly intensive maize cultivation supplemented by other plants and seasonal fishing and hunting. Typically, the towns of the Creek Indians cultivated both individual family plots and town plantations. The community as a whole worked the town plantation, but individual plots were identified for separate kin groups. In addition to individual granaries, each town maintained under the direction of its micco, or head man, a public granary which was for the purpose of accommodating "strangers and travelers, to provision the men who went on military expeditions, to assist families whose own supply had given out, and to fill any other public

need" (Debo 1941:20). Women were primarily responsible for the private garden plots (Ibid.:19) but men apparently also worked in the town tract or plantation. During much of the fall and early winter, the able-bodied men were dispersed in the town's hunting territories in search of game.

In addition to aboriginal crops, at a fairly early date such European introduced domesticates as rice, peach trees, and potatoes were grown by some Creeks. Although the Lower Creeks are generally characterized as having adopted more of "white culture" than did the Upper Creeks (e.g. Eastern National Parks and Monuments Association; 1971), by the late eighteenth century white-introduced plants were reported for a number of the Upper Creek towns as well. At that time most Upper towns had in their midst at least some individuals, albeit sometimes white traders married to Indian women, who were growing exotic crops. Table II shows the distribution by towns of European crops and domesticated animals, along with the presence of Negro slaves, in the Creek Nation at the end of the eighteenth century. While it is clear from this table that a larger percentage of the Lower towns already possessed traits of European agriculture and animal husbandry, a large number of Upper Towns as well had at least some familiarity with these innovations.

Although it is difficult to ascertain exactly when European agricultural products became incorporated into the farming patterns of the Creeks, it is clear that by the late eighteenth century these foreign items were relatively widespread amongst both the Upper and Lower Creeks. During

Table II: European-Introduced Domesticates, Cotton, and Negro Slaves
in Creek Towns for the Period 1790-1800

Upper Creek Towns*	Pigs**	Chickens	Horses	Cattle	Fruit	Potatoes	Cereal/Rice	Cotton	Slaves
Koasati ¹	+		+	+		+			
Tukabahches	+2,4	+4	+2,3	+2,3	+2,3		+2		+3
Hilibi	+5		+5,6	+5,6	+7		+8	+5,8	+6
Atasi	+9		+9	+2,9	+2				+9
Otciaopofa ¹⁰	+		+	+					
Holiwahali ¹¹	+		+	+					
Okfuskee ¹²	+		+	+	+				
Sawanagi ¹³	+		+						
Muklasa ¹	+		+	+		+			
Tawasa ¹⁴	+					+	+		
Ecunchatee ¹⁴				+(?)					
Pauwocte ¹⁴	+		+						
Hookchoieochoe ¹⁵	+		+	+		+			
Attaugee ¹⁴	+		+	+					
Tallase ¹⁶				+					
Natchez ¹⁷	+								
Chas. Weather. ¹⁷			+					+	+
Hickory Ground	+18		+19	+19					+19

*Spelling after Swanton (1922:434-443)

**Presence of item is indicated by "+"

- 1 Hawkins 1848:35
- 2 Ibid.:31
- 3 Ibid.:30
- 4 Hawkins 1916:38
- 5 Hawkins 1848:44
- 6 Hawkins 1916:29
- 7 Ibid.:31
- 8 Ibid.:30
- 9 Ibid.:41
- 10 Hawkins 1848:40

- 11 Ibid.:33
- 12 Ibid.:46
- 13 Ibid.:34
- 14 Ibid.:36
- 15 Ibid.:37
- 16 Taitt 1772:504
- 17 Hawkins 1848:42
- 18 Pope 1792:49
- 19 Greenalads 1935:115

Table II (cont.)

Lower Creek Towns

	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Chickens</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Fruit</u>	<u>Potatoes</u>	<u>Cereal/Rice</u>	<u>Cotton</u>	<u>Slaves</u>
Kasita	+ ^{1,2,3}		+ ^{1,2,3}	+ ^{1,3}	+ ¹	+ ¹			+ ³
Broken Arrow ²	+		+	+					
Coweta	+ ²		+ ²	+ ²			+ ⁴		
Coweta Talla. ⁵ (Agency)				+	+				
Hitchiti ³	+		+	+					
Chiana ³	+		+	+		+	+		
Eufala (Lower) ⁶							+		+
Oconee ³	+		+	+					

¹ Hawkins 1848:59-60² Pope 1792:62-63³ Ibid.:64-65⁴ Hawkins 1848:55⁵ Ibid.:56⁶ Ibid.:66

the latter half of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, the aboriginal subsistence base of horticulture, hunting, gathering, and fishing seems to have been in a state of flux. In these years various white travelers among the Indians differed considerably in their characterization of the farming practices of the towns of the Creeks.

In 1799, Benjamin Hawkins reported that in the town of Che-au-hau (Chiaha), "they have fine stocks of cattle, horses and hogs, and they raise corn, rice and potatoes, in great plenty" (Hawkins 1848:64). In contrast, Pope (1792: 64) reported at the Lower town of Cussatee (Koosati?) that:

Agriculture among the Creeks is little understood and less practiced. I know of but one Man in the whole Nation, who possesses tolerable industry, and that is a private Citizen, called the Bully, who from a very humble Beginning hath accumulated an easy Fortune, consisting of the following Species of Property, viz Of Negroes, 16 Men, 19 Women and 26 Children. Of Horses, 5 Studs, 32 Gildings, 127 Mares, and 83 Colts. Of black Cattle, 19 Bulls, 58 Steers, 326 Cows, and 132 Calves. Of Hogs, about 300 Head; besides Household Furniture, Peltray and Store Goods, to a very considerable Amount.

In addition, Pope (Ibid.:60-62) reports a lengthy harangue by one of the religious leaders of the Lower Creeks delivered to representatives of Coweta, Broken Arrow and Kasihta towns, deploring the economic (and social) laxity of his listeners:

A long rainy Season had rendered their Fields so quaggy that all Cultivation was impracticable; they durst not even venture to cut down the tall rank Weeds which towered above their Corn. In the general Distress an old Conjuror, of the Name of Senetahawgo stept forth into the Square, and thus harranged the listening Crowd:
Men & Warriors of Coweta, Broken-Arrow & Cussatee,
The great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain,
who stands upon the aerial Battlements of Heaven,

hath raised his angry terrifonous Voice, and with the Lightnings flashing from his Eyes, hath rent the Bosom of the Clouds! He hath hidden the Sun behind the Moon, and covered her face with a Bear-Skin; with the Tails of numerous Beavers, he hath conceal'd the twinkling Stars! We have been Traitors to our God, to Hippo ilk Mecco, to Lauco Washington! We have rejected the good Talk of Hippo ilk Mecco, and listened to the lying Cherokees! We have infringed the Treaty with Lauco Washington in stealing Horses from his Children! Our young Men refuse to hunt: - their Guns are rusty and their Hatchets dull! They sell their Horses, Cloaths and silver Ornaments for Rum. Our Women laugh at us and refuse to work: they are Prostitutes and suckle the Children of White Men! Our Men are worse than the Excrement of Dogs or Spaniards: - Our Women viler than the Urine of Pole-Cats or the vomit of Buzzards! For these Causes are our Fields drenched by the angry Clouds of the Firmament.

When will the gladsome Rays of Sol return and dessicate our flooded Fields? Ah! never till in Dust and Ashes we repent, and forsake our evil Ways. Men and Warriors let us confess our Faults and amend our Manners; and then Sawgee Futchehassee will forgive us, and bid the sun to shew himself, and with a genial Warmth revive our drooping Corn.- My Sons, I'm very old and chilly; the Marrow of my Bones is dry, and scarcely creeps the Blood along these Veins, which once in rapid Currents flow'd - I want a Keg of Rum.- My Daughters, I have fasted for three Days and Nights, and invoked my God in your Behalf.- I am hungry as a Wolf.- I want to eat some Hog and Hominy.

The tone of the foregoing speech seems to suggest a maligning of the assembled crowd for veering from their traditional ways. However, it is important to note the positive references to a treaty with Washington, guns, rum, and hatchets. In addition, the final, dramatic line of the conjuror's speech makes reference to his desire for not only the Indian food hominy, but also for hogs. Perhaps this is indicative of the extent to which European-derived animals and plants had been integrated into the general

subsistence pattern of the Creeks. Finally, in 1792 Pope describes in somewhat pejorative terms, the horticultural practices of the Creeks at Kasihta and Broken-Arrow towns, noting that the Indians still were planting in hills; that twenty or thirty grains of corn were thrown into each hole and were not thinned thereafter; and that the Creeks refused to use the plow, referring to it as a "horse trap," continuing to use only weeding hoes. Nonetheless, Pope observed that they had begun to build fork and rail fences to keep out horned cattle (presumably wild or half-wild varieties) and tethered their own horses, hogs, and other livestock to trees, stumps, and stakes (Ibid.:62-3). In his travels through Creek country in the late 1790's, Hawkins often noted that the towns had their fields fenced, but he often disparaged the fences as only suitable for keeping out cattle (Hawkins 1848:31 ff.).

Although it is difficult to generalize on the farming practices of the nearly one hundred Creek towns at the end of the eighteenth century, it appears that many of the Upper towns of the Creek Nation were undergoing drastic changes in their basic economy. The native horticultural institutions, such as the town plantations, probably were in decline, yet a full European-style agricultural complex, particularly in regard to domesticated animals, had not been adopted by the Creeks despite their earlier acceptance of such European introductions as fruit trees and cattle. The general state of agriculture and animal husbandry among the Upper Creeks,

including the mixed-bloods, was often deplored by Hawkins in his record of his 1799 tour of Creek country. For example, he writes of the town of Otciapofa (Ibid.:39-40):

...called by traders, hickory ground. It is on the left bank of the Coosau... the fields are on the right side. *** These people, are some of them, industrious. They have forty gun men, nearly three hundred cattle, and some horses and hogs; the family of the general Alexander McGillivray belong to this town; he left one son and two daughters; the son is in Scotland, with his grandfather, and the daughters with Sam Mac-nac, a half breed, their uncle; the property is much of it wasted. The chiefs have requested the agent for Indian affairs, to take charge of the property for the son, to prevent its being wasted by the sisters of the general, or by their children. Mrs. Durant, the oldest sister, has eight children. She is industrious but has no economy or management. In possession of fourteen working negroes, she seldom makes enough bread, and they live poorly. She can spin and weave and is making some feeble effort to obtain clothing for her family. The other sister, Sehoi, has about thirty negroes, is extravagant and heedless, neither spins nor weaves, and has no government of her family. She has one son, David Tale [Tate?] who has been educated in Philadelphia and Scotland. He promises to do better.

Hawkins presents a description of the principal Upper Creek town, Tukabahchee (Ibid.:29-30), which indicates that this town was no less acquainted with livestock than were the Lower Creeks. Indeed, here native farming practices seem to have suffered considerably at the expense of the people's increasing interest in cattle keeping:

They have one hundred and sixteen gun men belonging to the town; they were formerly more numerous, but have been unfortunate in their wars. ...they have begun to settle out in the villages for the convenience of stock raising, and having firewood; the stock which frequent the mossy shoals above the town, look well and appear healthy; the Indians begin to be attentive to them, and are increasing them by all the means in their power. Several of them have from fifty to one-hundred, and the town

furnished seventy good beef cattle in 1799. One chief, Took-au-bat-che Haujo, has five hundred, and although apparently very indigent, he never sells any...he seldom kills less than two large beeves a fortnight, for his friends and acquaintances.

The town is on the decline. Its appearance proves the inattention of the inhabitants. It is badly fenced; they have but a few plum trees, and several clumps of cassine yupon; the land is much exhausted with continued culture, and the wood for fuel is at a great and inconvenient distance, unless boats or land carriages were in use; it could be easily supplied....

While the above description suggests that the people of "Took-au-bat-chee" town were dispersing into smaller settlements of their own accord, Hawkins' description of Okfuskee town states that movement away from aboriginal towns was expressly urged by the first Creek Indian agent, James Seagrove. The Okfuskee description (Ibid.:46-48) suggests that its people were faring rather well in the shift from town horticulture to stock-raising in dispersed villages:

Okfuskee with its villages is the largest town in the nation. They estimate the number of gun men of the old town, at one hundred eighty; and two hundred seventy in the villages...

They have no fences around the town; they have some cattle, hogs and horses, and their range is a good one; ... the cows which frequent... the salt grass shoals, are the largest and finest in the nation; they have some peach trees in the town, and the cassine yupon [main ingredient of the ritual emetic, "Black Drink"], in clumps. The Indians have lately moved out and settled in the villages, and the town will soon be an old field; the setting out in villages, has been repeatedly pressed by the agent for Indian affairs, and with considerable success; they have seven villages belonging to this town.

1st. New-yau-cau. ...twenty miles above Ok-fus-ke. * * *

2d. Took-au-bat-che tal-lau-has-see. [4 mi. above New Yauka]

3rd. Im-mook-fau. [4 mi. west of Took-au-bat-che] ...they possess some hogs, cattle and

horses, and begin to be attentive to them. * * *

4th. Took-to-cau-gee. [20 mi. above New-yau-cau] * * *

5th. Au-che-nau-ul-gau. ...this settlement is the farthest north of all the Creeks...

6th. E-pe-sau-gee. ...they have forty settlers in the village, who have fenced their fields this season, for the benefit of their stock, and they have all of them cattle, hogs and horses. * * *

Four of these villages have valuable stocks of cattle. McCarthy has one hundred. E-cun-cha-te E-naut-lau, one hundred; Tote-cuh Haujo, one hundred, and Toos Micco, two hundred.

7th. Sooc-he-ah. [12 mi. above Okfuskee]

It is perhaps instructive to note that Hawkins' descriptions of the non-Creek towns in Creek territory, e.g.

Shawnee and Yuchi, suggest that these "foreign" towns had adopted less of the European subsistence products, but their overall economic conditions were perhaps better than those of many of the Muskogee proper. Likewise, for the non-Creek town of "Coo-sau-dee," Hawkins (Ibid.:35-6) was very much impressed by their industry and productiveness;

...they have fields on both sides of the river... They have some fences, good against cattle only, and some families have small patches fenced, near the town for potatoes.

These Indians are not Creeks, although they conform to their ceremonies; the men work with the women and make plenty of corn; all labor is done by the joint labor of all, called public work, except gathering in the crop. During the season of labor, none are exempted from their share of it, or suffered to go hunting.

...A part of the town moved lately beyond the Mississippi, and have settle there... But as they are attracted to the sweets of life, in having a convenient market for their products, it is likely they will soon return to their old settlements... they have a few hogs, and seventy or eighty cattle, and some horses. It is not more than three years since they had not a hog among them. Robert Walton, who was then the trader for the town, gave the women some pigs, and this is the origin of their stock.

Although in 1799 Hawkins had not yet begun his major "civilization" program among the Creeks, he appears to have found existing agricultural conditions in the Lower towns more to his liking. He wrote of Che-au-hau (Chiaha), "...they have fine stocks of cattle and hogs, and they raise corn, rice, and potatoes, in great plenty" (Ibid.:64). His comments on the people of Oconee are likewise complimentary, but suggest that there were few livestock in this Lower town (Ibid.:65). Sometimes Hawkins was ambivalent in his regard for a town's conditions as in his observations on the condition and repair of fences at Coweta town (Ibid.:55):

The town has a temporary fence of three poles, the first on forks, the other two on stakes, good against cattle only; the town fields are fenced in like manner; a few of the neighboring fields, detached from the town, have good fences; the temporary, three pole fences of the town, are made every spring, or repaired in a slovenly manner.

At other points Hawkins appears somewhat contradictory, as in his observations on Eufala (Ibid.:66):

These people are very poor... they raise plenty of corn and rice... several of these Indians have negroes, taken during the revolutionary war, and where they are, there is more industry and better farms. These negroes were, many of them given by the agents of Great Britain to the Indians, in payment for their services....

Finally, for the largest Lower town, Cussetah (Kasihta), Hawkins (Ibid.:59) has little good to say, but attributes much of their condition to the fact that of all the towns, Cussetans had the most contact with whites:

The people of Cussetah associate more than any other Indians, with their white neighbors, and without obtaining any advantage from it; they know not the season for planting, or if they do, they never

avail themselves of what they know, as they always plant a month too late.

The town with its villages is the largest in the Lower Creeks; the people are, and have been friendly to white people, and are fond of visiting them; the old chiefs are very orderly men and much occupied in governing their young men, who are rude and disorderly, in proportion to the intercourse they have had with white people; they frequently complain of the intercourse of their young people with the white people on the frontiers, as being very prejudicial to their morals; that they are more rude, more inclined to be tricky, and more difficult to govern, than those who do not associate.

Hawkins' aside comment on the planting date of the Cussetans is perhaps the result of a misunderstanding of the requirements of the native horticultural system.

In summary then, on the eve of the nineteenth century, the Creek towns were in varying states of change from the native horticultural system to a more complex subsistence base, incorporating European domesticated animals and crops as well as maize cultivation. However, from the point of view of Benjamin Hawkins, despite in some cases surprisingly large holdings of livestock, the Creeks were not nearly so productive nor agriculturally sophisticated as their Indian agent would have had them be. As noted in the previous chapter, there is evidence that the Creek population was rapidly increasing at this time. Although the food base had been expanded by the introduction of livestock, change in the native economy may have been sufficient to exert strain on Creek food resources. Anecdotally, one observer at the United States trading post at Coleraine (in southeastern Georgia) observed in 1796, "the few inhabitants we have seen coming up the river exhibit a wretched appearance" (Mattison n.d.:6-7).

Unfortunately, in the years between Hawkins' very valuable survey of Creek towns in 1799 and the beginning of the Creek War in 1813, there are very few data on the conditions of Creek agriculture. For the moment, at least, we can only guess that the conditions of native farming were worsening with continued dispersal of the older, large towns and the changes which accompanied the introduction of livestock, particularly among the Upper Creeks. But, there was not yet a full and successful transition to a rural white type of economy, despite Hawkins efforts at "civilization." Data for the period immediately following the Creek War are ambiguous at best. For example, in 1812 at Rooty Creek, one traveler observed of the Indians there, "They scarcely had any corn & it was wt. difficulty that we prevailed on them to spare two baskets, as it was like taking bread out of their mouths" (Innerarity 1931:67). In 1818, Captain Hugh Young of the Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers wrote of the Indians that "They would naturally prefer the easy task of occasionally hunting large droves of cattle to the drudgery of testing the productiveness of the pinelands where the cattle found abundant pasturage" (Young 1934:102). However, in 1819 another observer recorded that he "saw several neat and flourishing little farms ... the labor being generally devolved on either the African Negro, or to the Indian wife" (Hodgson 1824:269). It would seem fairly certain from this description that at least some of the little farms to which Hodgson referred were those of whites with

Indian wives. However, in 1825, one of the prominent chiefs of the Upper Creeks, Big Warrior, was reported to own about three hundred Negroes (Bernhard 1828:29). By 1834, after the removal to Oklahoma, the Creeks had become such accomplished farmers that traders were reported to have bought ten thousand bushels of surplus Creek corn (U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1834:257).

While the early nineteenth century Lower Creeks generally have been regarded as having been more willing than the Upper Creeks to adopt white agricultural practices, by 1855 Schoolcraft (1860 VI:533-4) regarded the Upper Creek emigrants to Oklahoma as having surpassed their more southerly brethren in the arts of agriculture; as indicated by the following statement:

The late emigrants, or what are termed the Upper Creeks, although much dissatisfied for a length of time after their removal to their new homes, owing mainly to their sufferings from sickness, and the great mortality that prevailed among them, are now a happy, healthy, and contented people, and are much in advance of the Lower Creeks (or early emigrants) in the variety, quality, and quantity of their agricultural products, as well as the management of their farms. They have larger and better stocks of domestic animals. They are likewise much in advance of the Lower Creeks in domestic and household manufactures. They make quantities of cotton cloth from the raw material, planted and cultivated upon their own farms. They also have several useful native mechanics among them, carpenters, wheelwrights, loom-makers, smiths, &c., and all reside in good comfortable houses of their own construction. In short, I know of no people on this continent who are more happy and contented, or who enjoy a greater plenty, than these people do, of all the necessaries of life; and I do not hesitate to say, that the present growing crop, if it meets no disaster until it arrives at maturity, will equal three times the amount that may be required from home consumption.

Fishing and Hunting

Prior to the coming of Europeans, the only sources of meat for the Creek Indians were fish and game. Commentaries on the fishing practices of the Creek during the period of this study are very scant. Hawkins (1916:38) reported on 15 December 1796, that the Tallassee River of eastern Alabama was the most valuable fishing location in the region and in the spring and summer sturgeon, trout ("also called the chub"), perch, rock, and red horse were caught there. At Limestone Creek, a report from 1796 has it that the previous summer the Indians had mixed three bushels of buckeye root with two bushels of clay which they placed in Limestone Creek and poisoned fish for eight miles; sixty to eighty persons picked up as many fish as they could carry (Ibid.:23). The people of the town of Coosa, in 1799, were reported to have a plentiful supply of fish in the spring season as well as "fine stocks of horses, hogs, and cattle" (Hawkins 1848:41). Finally, for the town of Coweta, in 1799, fishing practices were described by Hawkins (Ibid.:53) in some detail:

...here are two fisheries... they are at the termination of the falls; and the fish are taken with scoop nets; the fish taken here are, the hickory, shad, rock, trout, perch, cat fish, and suckers; there is sturgeon in the river, but no white shad or herring; during the spring and summer they catch the perch and rock with hooks. As soon as the fish make their appearance, the chiefs send out the women, and make them fish for the "square." This expression includes all the chiefs and warriors of the town. (Ibid.:53)

Although it is likely the case that such formal communalistic practices as "fishing for the square" tended to

disappear during the the nineteenth century, some of the techniques of fishing characteristic of the Creeks continued for much longer. The use of fish poison was reported to be still in use by the Creeks of Oklahoma in 1905 (Speck 1915: 108). Similarly, some Creeks living in Alabama in the 1970's were familiar with the former use of fish poison. (In conjunction with this it is also worth noting that according to reports of modern Eastern Creek informants, in approximately the 1860's and '70's members of this small remnant band of Creeks made annual fishing expeditions to the Tensaw and/or the Alabama Rivers, spending a week or more at the fishing station and catching primarily rock trout [Paredes 1975].) From the available data we can only assume that fishing remained an important secondary subsistence activity throughout the early nineteenth century, but was an aboriginal pursuit without the great commercial potential which hunting had.

For several months out of each year, the Creeks left the towns and lived in forest hunting camps. According to one modern source (Debo 1941:20-1), each Creek town had its own game preserves, and hunters were careful not to trespass on the property of other towns. Moreover, the use of game was regulated by the town council "even to the extent of observing closed seasons" (Ibid.:20). Likewise, fishing places were the property of particular towns. Even so, Bossu reported in 1768 that when the Alabamans went out on their annual hunt in October, they traveled as far as a hundred leagues from their village, carrying with them their entire

family and returning only in March; only the old people remained in the village to protect their cabins during the hunting season (Swanton 1928a:405).

In aboriginal times the Creeks probably hunted bison, but bison had long disappeared from the southeast by the late eighteenth century. The principal animal for the hunt was the deer, although bears were also highly prized, primarily for their fat (Swanton 1928b:693). Under aboriginal conditions, hunting expeditions were surrounded with much ritual to ensure success. Rights of thanksgiving followed a successful hunt, and there were rather precise conventions of etiquette for the sharing of game. As late as 1792 in the Lower Creek town of Broken Arrow, Pope (1792:59) reported that the Creeks there made burnt offerings of parts of animals taken in the hunt before the eating of the kill. However, it is unclear as to whether all that Pope reported was in practice at that time. The fact that Pope refers to the offering of two to three pounds of a buffalo meat suggests that this may have been an earlier practice reported to him by Creek informants, since certainly by this time the buffalo had disappeared from the Creek territory.

The most fundamental change to occur in the Creek economy during the eighteenth century was the shift from subsistence hunting to commercial hunting. Caucasian traders offered guns, cloth, and many other goods in exchange for hides, and the Indians were quick to oblige them. By the early 1740's, the Creek towns of the lower Chattahoochee

River were actively engaged in trading hides with the Spanish, who were attempting to obtain the alliance of the Creeks when they established a trading store at St. Marks, Florida in 1738 (Sturtevant 1971:102). By the 1770's the Creeks were killing a staggering number of animals for the hide market, as indicated by Bartram's report (1791:412), that just one older man killed three hundred deer in one year.

During precisely the same period in which Hawkins deplored the state of much of Creek agriculture and animal husbandry, further complicated by an apparent rapid increase in population and advancing white settlement, the Creeks were caught up in a short term economic "boom" in commercial hunting which was doomed from the start -- and the Creeks knew it.

As George Stiggins (n.d.:72) wrote about the year 1800:

They apprehended rightly that so long as the forests retained their primary uncultivated state from the proceeds of the game killed therein that is from the sale and barter of their peltry they clothed themselves and families and got their winter supply of meat independent of labour, but if it was settled by the white people and plantations opened in it of course such support must fail entirely; & be succeeded by a general want of such supplies natural and artificial-- at that time their place of trade and barter centered in Pensacola... with the firm of Panton Leslie & Co....

By 1801, Efauhaujo, listed as speaker for the Creek Nation, implored the merchants at Pensacola to provide the traders out in the Creek country with more ammunition so that the Creeks might increase their winter hunt and pay for all the things that they wanted from the store in Pensacola (Panton 1935:165-166). By 1818, John C. Calhoun, in a communication to the U.S. House of Representatives in a general statement

on the condition of the fur trade for all Indians wrote,

...the almost total destruction of game has rendered the amount of peltries and furs of little value in this branch of Indian trade; and their capacity of paying for the goods purchased... depends on the proceeds of the soil. [American State Papers - Class II - Indian Affairs, Vol. II:183]

In summary, then, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Creek Indians had become consumers in the world market, deer hides for their purchasing power. They were no longer self-sufficient tribal horticulturalists and hunters. This shift in economy made the Creek Indians subject to fluctuations in the outside markets of the whites. Moreover, increased attention to hunting, as well as cattle keeping, probably contributed to the decline of traditional patterns of horticulture, despite the incorporation of new plants from the European agricultural complex. Finally, we would suggest that it was the "easy cash" of the hunting business which made some elements of the Creeks resistant to Hawkins' plan of "civilization," the presumably rapid depletion of the supply of game notwithstanding.

Chapter III: Trade

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, trade with Europeans was the single most important factor for change in Creek society and culture. The products of white technology enticed the Creeks away from their traditional subsistence patterns, and more and more towards the production of raw materials for the economy of the growing American nation and for world markets. For the most part, the Creeks offered in trade the products of the woods, namely deer hides and other pelts. However, particularly in the case of the Lower Creeks, there were increasing incentives and opportunities to trade in agricultural products as well. Nonetheless, as noted previously, the shift from subsistence hunting to a kind of commercial hunting was a major change in aboriginal Creek economy. Trade with the whites had a correspondingly profound influence on the native manufactures and technology of the Creeks.

Trading Posts and Traders

During the early 1700's, much of the trade with the Indians of the Southeast came from Charleston, South Carolina. The colony of South Carolina represented the British Crown in the Southeastern Indian trade. Specifically, the Colonial Assembly empowered a Commissioner of Indian Affairs to license

individual traders amongst the Indians (Debo 1941:28). The French also were interested in trade, and, expanding from their territories in Louisiana, they established Fort Toulouse near the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers on the western edge of Creek country. Nonetheless, Debo has concluded that in 1714, the British were enticing the Indians in western Alabama away from French trade by the offer of higher prices for their hides and pelts, practically trading with the Indians "under the very guns" of Fort Toulouse (Ibid.:27).

Although much of the available information on the early days of trade with the Creek Indians comes from British and American sources, further archival research should be conducted to determine the extent to which the French were influencing developments in Creek country from the west. Be that as it may, by 1735, on the Georgia frontier "nearly every Creek town had its local English trader" (Ibid.:34) and "natives were rapidly abandoning their native manufactures" (Ibid.). At that time, the principle trader for the English from the eastern part of Creek country was one George Galphin, who had trading posts at Silver Bluff, Savannah, and Augusta, Georgia (Ibid.:33), Augusta at that time being the chief center for commerce.

A recent scholar has stated (Lonner 1957:122):

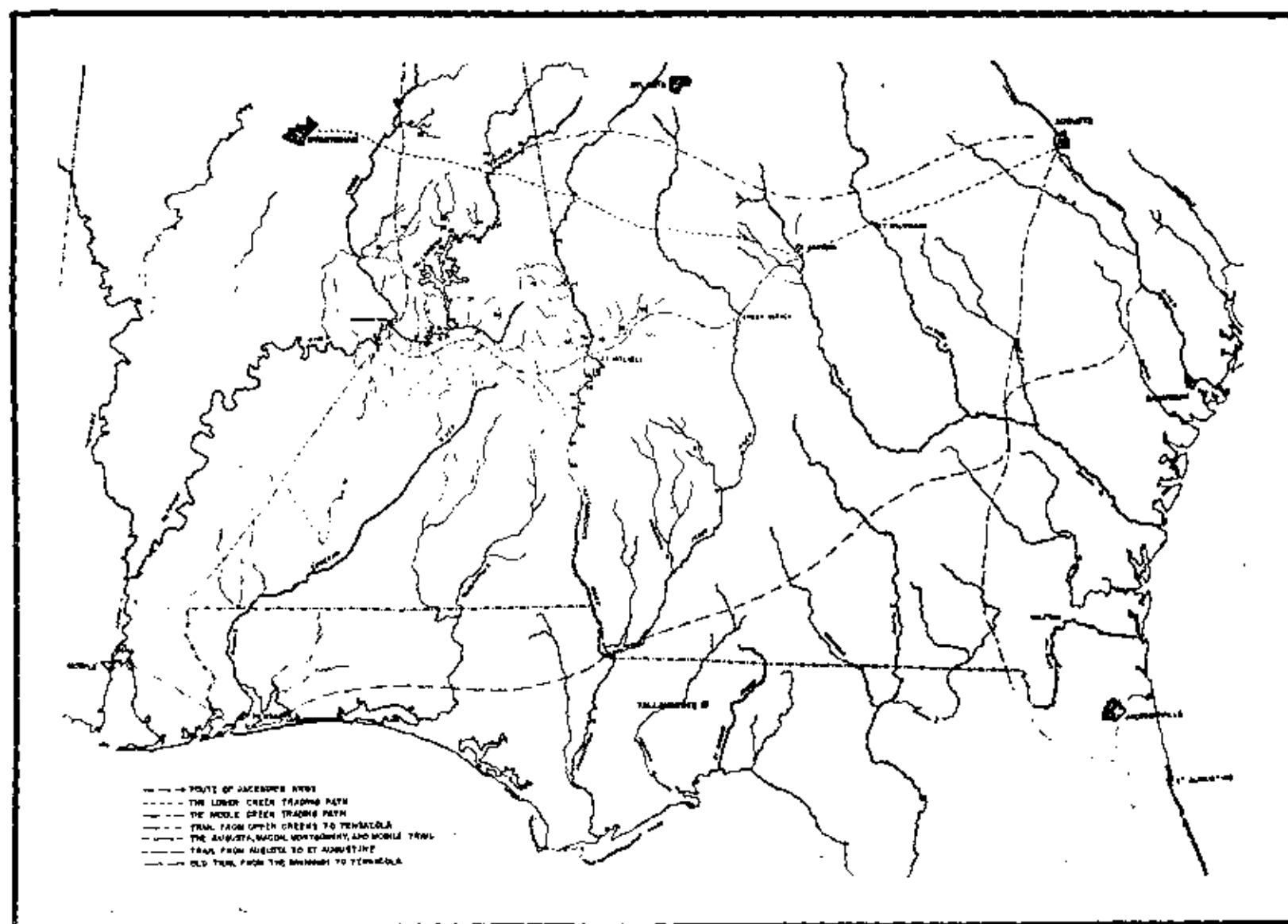
The more primitive hunting element of the Alabama Upper Creeks were less receptive to the white man's civilization than were the Indians living in proximity to Georgia. ...The white man's economy and commercial influences appear to have made a greater impact upon the Lower... than upon the

Upper Creeks... The Indians closest to the Georgia frontier had come to be more or less dependent upon the white man's commercial goods and upon a money economy.

Although this author was referring to the situation as it existed about 1805, there is evidence that perhaps the stronger alignment of the Lower Creeks to European and American trade has been overemphasized. For example, a South Carolina Colonial Assembly report of 1761 shows nine of the eleven Lower Creek towns as having licensed traders or trading companies assigned to them. In addition, the same report lists fourteen of twenty-seven Upper Creeks towns as already having licensed traders and trading companies dealing with them (Brannon 1935:22 ff.). So, while it was true that almost all of the Lower towns had at least one licensed trader, over half of the Upper towns had licensed traders as well, in addition to any unlicensed traders who may have been dealing in the area.

The magnitude of Southeastern Indian trade in the mid-eighteenth century is indicated by the fact that George Galphin ran a string of four hundred pack horses for his trade with the Creeks, Choctaw, Chicasaw, and other groups (Bartram, J. 1942:25). A 1772 report from the principal town of the Upper Creeks, Tookabahche, provides some insight into the devastating consequences of the Indians' involvement in trade with Mr. Galphin (Taitt 1772:504-5):

...having met with a party of Indians who were all very drunk they were accompanied by one Francis Lewis, who was in the Same Condition as themselves, this Lewis who is a hireling to Mr. George Galphin at Silver bluff, According to his usual Custom had



Map II: Indian Trading Paths of the Southeast

met with the Indians (last night as they came into Town with their Skins from hunting) and Supplied them plentifully with rum on purpose to get what skins they had brought in, and deprive the other Trader of any part of them. This man makes it a Common practice to give Rum to his wench for to purchase back the goods from the Indians, which he has before sold or Trusted them with, so that he is Obligated to fitt them out a Second time on Credit, which greatly increases their Debts to his Employer, but is a great profit to himself as the Skins that he purchases with rum or goods bought with it he Claims as his own; this I have been informed is a common practice with hirelings in this Country.

It was through such practices that traders began to indebt the Indians. To pay their debts, Creeks soon were required to cede tracts of their land, as described in this account from June 1, 1773 (Pickett 1851:II:14):

...the Cherokees and Creeks had assembled at Augusta, at the instance [sic] of Sir James Wright, the governor, and John Stuart, superintendant of Indian affairs. These Indians there ceded to Great Britain a large area of territory, upon the head waters of the Ogechee, and north-west of Little river. The object was to compensate the Honorable George Galphin, and some other traders, for large debts due them by these nations. The governor, having no power to accept this cession, but seeing the influence it would enable him to wield, in behalf of the tottering power of his King, to whom he was devoutly attached, he had already obtained the consent of the ministry to make the treaty. But Galphin never obtained any of these lands, or the proceeds of the sales thereof, on account of his boldly expressed patriotic opinions; and Gov. Wright, with a vindictive partiality, paid the loyal traders, in preference, keeping the larger portion of the proceeds, to strengthen his government, and perhaps to add to his own coffers.

The evidence is clear that the trade was not simply on the eastern margins of Creek country. For example, in 1775, Mr. Galphin and one of his associates in Georgia obtained a contract to provide beef to the city of Pensacola, and they

drove the beef directly through the Creek Nation (Romans 1962:91-92). (Perhaps it is from this source that the Creeks obtained many of their cattle). Although there appears to have been some preference by the Creeks to travel to Carolina and Georgia for trade, particularly when the Spanish possessed Pensacola, by at least 1777 there was a brisk trade with the Creeks from Mobile, Alabama. One of the important traders there was a Mr. Swanson, but perhaps more important was the company of Lachlan McGillivray, father of Alexander McGillivray by an Indian woman, Sehoy Marchand. Alexander McGillivray was to become perhaps the greatest political leader of the Creeks (Pickett 1851:II:24). Also about this time, by permission of the King of England, the Earl of Dartmouth controlled trade with many of the Georgia Indians. The Earl managed the cessions of Indian lands in order to discharge their debts to the traders and to secure the defense of the fortress which he established (Bartram 1791:324).

In the 1770's a new development complicated Creek trade; the American colonies were rebelling against England. One of the most influential traders of the pre-Revolutionary period was William Panton, an immigrant from Aberdeenshire, Scotland, who had extensive holdings in South Carolina and Georgia. During the Revolution he had remained loyal to the British, and as a consequence, his property, along with that of other loyalist traders, was confiscated. Following the outbreak of the Revolution, William Panton moved into the British territory

of Florida and established a post on the St. Mary's River. He obtained permission from the Spanish to establish a trading post on the Apalachicola River in 1783; the post was later moved to the Wakulla River in the Florida panhandle. By 1785, Panton had established a store at Pensacola which was later to become Panton & Leslie Company, with an emphasis, apparently, on trade with the Upper Creeks (Boyd 1937: 59). During the 1780's, Panton built a strong alliance with Alexander McGillivray which worked to their mutual advantage in dealings with the Creeks. Through McGillivray Panton experienced great commercial success, and McGillivray, for his part, achieved great political power among the Creeks, as well as economic wealth through his dealings with Panton (Pickett 1851:II:61,97). By the 1790's, the firm of Panton, Leslie & Company had acquired a monopoly on trade with the Indians at Pensacola, Apalachee, and Mobile under the aegis of the Spanish government (Greenslade 1935:111-112). Apparently, Panton's alliance with McGillivray had an impact on trading posts within the United States as well, as indicated by the following (Swan 1855:283):

All the traders have licenses, and particular towns allotted to them respectively, with the liberty of selling their places to such purchasers as shall be approved of by Mr. McGillivray, or of exchanging with each other; but the Indians don't suffer them to cultivate much land, upon the supposition that if the traders raise produce themselves, they will not purchase the little they have to sell.

Notice here the reference to trade in agricultural products as well as hides.

Supported by the Spanish and aided by McGillivray,

Panton perhaps more than anyone else capitalized on trade with the Creeks during the period immediately following the American Revolution. In 1792 Pope (1792:44-45) observed that:

The upper and lower Creek Nation trade to this Place [Pensacola], where they are uniformly imposed upon by a Mr. Panton, who hath monopolized their Trade. The poor Indians barter their Deer Skins at fourteen Pence Sterling per Pound, for Salt at nine Shillings Sterling per Bushel. Panton is Part Owner of the Salt Works in the Island of Providence [in the Bahamas], and has it brought to Pensacola in his own [ship] Bottoms, at the Average Expense of about tree Pence per Bushel. I think his goods at Mobile [sic], Pensacola and St. Marks, are generally vended at Five Hundred per cent on their prime Cost.

Indeed, the situation was such that one writer of the time indicated that "until the American Revolution, and indeed during the late war, and ever since the peace of 1783, the trade is, in fact, beneficial only to British subjects" (Swan 1855:278). (Although Panton & Lealie operated in Spanish territory after 1783, their company dealt in British goods.)

From another perspective the importance of this western, British-linked trade is perhaps best indicated by the statement that by the 1790's "all over the territory of Alabama and Mississippi, wherever an Indian town of importance was found, white traders lived" (Pickett 1851:1:130). Reportedly, the Creeks were very tolerant of the traders, very seldom attacking them and never robbing them, because they regarded them as being their best friends, in the sense that they provided them with so much that they needed (Ibid.:132). Nonetheless, the trading companies were not without their

problems. In 1792, the English adventurer, William Bowles, who had had visions of building an empire for himself, led a party of Creeks in an attack on Panton's store at Apalachee and stole \$15,000 worth of goods (Panton 1936(a):275).

Clearly the new government of the United States had before them a problem of serious proportions. The British continued to exert considerable indirect influence over trade with a large and powerful group of Indians within the very limits of the United States. In addition, there was the problem of private traders operating among the Indians with little or no control from the U.S. government. In order to combat this situation -- politically, economically, and militarily -- in 1795 the U.S. Congress established a "factory system" for trade with Indians, within U.S. territory. Under this system several trading posts were built; each one was managed by a salaried government employee and provided with a military garrison. These factories were intended to deal directly with the Indians, although the factories also licensed traders to conduct business in outlying villages.

In the interest of square-dealing with the Indians, the factory system dispensed with such earlier British and French practices as giving gifts to the Indians to maintain their good graces. The Factory System also was intended to eliminate the kind of credit practices which had so indebted Indians that they were forced to cede lands in repayment earlier in the eighteenth century; the United States government was going to operate on a strictly cash basis. While

in theory this system sounds perhaps more humanitarian and sensible than the system that had been operating before, Indians continued to prefer to deal with private traders in many instances. R. B. Way (1919:228-29) has summarized some of the more important sources of Indian dissatisfaction with the factory system:

...Certain features of the Indian trade [were] ... overlooked by the United States when it inaugurated its cash system. The Indian... had no reserve stock of necessities. He could not possibly go out on his winter hunt unless he was supplied in advance on unsecured credit with firearms, ammunition, clothing, etc. ... He was accustomed to pledge to private traders who furnished the supplies for the peltriss he expected to gather. ...when advancing goods at such risks, the trader charged the highest prices while he gave the Indian as little as possible for his furs...

Both the French and British officials had periodically made considerable presents... [to the Indians] ... Weapons, ammunition, utensils, clothing, ornaments, and liquor had been [freely] distributed... as annuities for the insurance of the Indians' good will. Not only were the United States factors not supplied with such presents for distribution, but they were... held to a... strict accountability for all goods... The Indians... considered the factors contemptible for their parsimony and suspected them further of withholding gifts the government meant the Indians to have.

The square dealing of the factory soon lost its charm when the Indian ... found he could get neither the necessary credit, ...presents, nor liquor, for all three were obtainable at the unofficial trading posts.

The first U.S. factory in Creek country was established at Colerain, Georgia (See Map I). Edward Price was appointed factor at Colerain on January 11, 1796 (Mattison 1946:171). When Benjamin Hawkins arrived on the scene in 1796, he found that Price was continuing the practice of giving presents to

the Indians. James Seagrove, the first Creek agent, had allowed gift giving to continue, but Hawkins quickly abolished the practice.

By 1797, it was already clear that the factory at Colerain was not fully accomplishing its purposes, and the government made the decision to close that store and relocate at Fort Wilkinson, further west. Nonetheless, many of the Lower Creeks, particularly those from Coweta and surrounding towns, were unhappy to see the closing of the Colerain factory, for they were engaged in brisk trade, not only in skins but in cattle as well (Mattison n.d.:65-67). They were doing so well in fact that the store at Colerain was inadequately stocked to deal with their wants. Consequently, even these Creeks frequently went to the ^{town of} ~~the better stocked Ponton & Leslie post on the~~ St. Mary's ~~River in Florida territory~~. Here they were able to obtain goods they desired but at much higher prices than the factories would have charged if the goods were available. The Indians even made purchases at the foreign post with notes that Price had given them in Colerain. Indeed, Price sometimes advanced the cash to the Creeks, as he said, "for lifting those bills" (Ibid.) which they incurred ~~at the Ponton & Leslie store~~. Apparently, for the Lower Creeks, the factory system was working, in one sense, better than the United States government had anticipated, for the factory could not meet the demand for goods. Also, it was noted that the site of Colerain was convenient to the "Seminole" (Ibid.:41-43), who by this time had become

a separate people in Florida, for the most part having disassociated themselves from their Creek forebears. Perhaps in an effort to further the cause of United States' relations with the Upper Creeks, the government closed the store at Colerain and moved deeper into Creek territory at Fort Wilkinson.

By 1798 the new factory at Fort Wilkinson was already in financial trouble. In that year the factor in his report to the government recommended that a hat factory be established at Fort Wilkinson (Ibid.:134-36). The furs which the factor was receiving from the Indians were of poor quality, so he proposed locally manufacturing hats in order that the pelts could be directly processed into a marketable item to save the cost of shipping furs to Philadelphia. The price that inferior quality furs would bring in Philadelphia would be so low that it would not even pay for transporting them that far.

When Benjamin Hawkins toured the region in 1796, he prepared a kind of census of traders in Creek country (Hawkins 1916:168-172). Among the twelve Lower Creek towns listed by Hawkins, only four did not have at least one trader in residence. Coweta, with five, had the most traders. For the Upper Creeks, Hawkins shows sixteen of the thirty-five towns having at least one trader; the town of Hoithlewallie with four, had the largest number. (See Table III for a comparison of distribution of traders in 1761 and 1796.) Of these traders, Hawkins mentions specifically that four

Table III: Number of Traders Operating
Within the Creek Nation*

<u>Town</u>	<u>1761</u>	<u>1796</u>
Lower Towns:		
Coweta	1	5
Coweta Tallahassee		1
Kasihta	1	2
Yuchi	1	1
Osochi		1
Cheauhau		0
Hitchiti	0	1
Palachucle	1	1
Ocone	1	0
Sauwogolo	1	0
Sauwoogeloochee		0
Eufala, Lower	1	0
Chiska talofa	1	
Point towns	2	
Weupkees	0	
Total:	10	12
Upper Towns:		
Tallassee	0	2
Tukabahchee	2	2
Atasi	0	2
Holiwahili		4
Fuscahatchee	1	2
Kolomi	0	0
Sawanogi		1
Ekun-duts-ke		0
Muklasa	1	1
Koasati		3
Wetumka		0
Okchai	1	0
Okchaiutci	1	0
Tuskegee	0	0
Otciaopofa		0
Wiwohka	2	0
Pakan tallahassee	0	1
Coosa		1
Abihkutci	1	0
Nauche		2
Eufala hatchee		1
Wakokai	0	3
Hilibi	1	3
Okfuskee	1	1

Table III (cont.)

<u>Town</u>	<u>1761</u>	<u>1796</u>
Upper Towns: (cont.)		
Eufala, Upper	0	1
Kialledji	1	2
Nuyaka		0
Chuleokuwatkee		0
Tootocaugee		0
Tukabahchee tallahassee		0
Lutcapoga		0
Fauwockee		1
Sakapadai		0
Wiogufki		1
Lafogalga		0
Opithlucco		1
Tallase-hatchee		0
Succaupogau-soocaucah	0	0
Savannalles	2	
Welunkees	0	
Pucannau	<u>0</u>	
Total:	14	35

1796 data

*From Hawkins (1916:95, 168-172)

^
1761 data after Brannon (1935: 22-24)

in the Lower Creek country were indebted to Panton & Leslie, and five of the traders among the Upper Creeks were indebted to the Florida company. Some of these traders were indebted to the public factory as well. Although the sites of the U.S. factories were moved westward several times, the posts were always more accessible to the Lower Creek towns than to the Upper Creeks.

Despite the view that the Lower Creeks were more acculturated than the Upper Creeks, and more accustomed to trade, the evidence is reasonably clear that from at least the mid-1700's onward many of the Upper Creek towns also were actively involved in trading. What does seem to have distinguished the Lower Creeks was their more frequent and amicable relations with the official U.S. trading system established in 1795. Conversely, the Upper Creeks appear to have dealt more with the private company of Panton & Leslie, although there is certainly evidence that Lower Creeks dealt with that firm as well.

Trade Items

In the early 1700's, the French as well as the English, through both "presents" and trade, already were introducing a great variety of European items into Creek culture. Particularly important, although prohibited by law both in France and England, was the trade in guns and alcoholic beverages, particularly rum (Brannon 1935:41-43):

French records indicate that Iberville's

earliest cargoes of "presents for the savages" included knives, hatchets, swords, pipes, kettles, looking-glasses, needles, scissors, beads, vermillion, blue paint, red caps, white blankets, Limbourg and Alaigne cloths, trade shirts and stockings. These were not literally "presents" though the French did give more presents than the English. Guns were not supplied, and there were regulations against the trading of them (even as there was rum) to the Indians, but as they very early became the chief desire of the native, both the English and the French traded them. Each excused this as an opportunity to arm them as allies against the enemy. Fort Tombecke, (on the River Tombigbee, at the present day Epes, Alabama), in 1759 was actually a French trading post, government operated. There the stock was practically what the individual merchant at Charleston and Augusta was sending by packhorse into the interior. Guns, bullets (and lead), flints and powder, as well as salt, breeches, tobacco, and even alas! corkscrews, were regularly in stock.

In September, 1752 one observer suggested that the Upper Creeks of Tuckabahchee town obtained their liquor from the French (Bosomworth 1756:51):

... when they got a few skins, they went to the French Ports and sold them for Liquor, and even the shirts and Cloths off their Backs and your French Indians, (menaing those who have got French Commissions) too go cringing and begging [sic] of Rum....

The kinds of trade items and their exchange value as set separately by South Carolina and Pensacola traders during the pre-Revolutionary period of the eighteenth century are shown in Table IV. Although it is very difficult to exactly compare the two lists, the prices for comparable items in the later, Pensacola list seem somewhat less than for South Carolina, if it is assumed that on the average a single deer-hide would weigh more than one pound.¹ In addition to hides, the trading centers of Mobile and Pensacola during 1772 were

Table IV:

A. Prices of Trading Goods in 1718 (after Brannen 1935:46-49)

Goods	Quantity	Creek price		Settlement (white) prices
		"heavy drest Skins" (number)	Skins, "Light" (number)	"Heavy drest deer skins" (pounds)
Gun	1	25	35	16
Pistol	1	12	18	--
Powder	1 lb.	1	"in proportion"	1
Bullets	40	1	30 for 1	4 lb.-1
Flints	20	1	15 for 1	50 for 1
Steel	--	--	--	--
Hatchet	1	--	--	2
Outlass	--	--	--	--
Sword	--	--	--	--
Knife	2	--	--	1
Hanger	1	7	10	--
Scissors	--	--	--	--
Axe	1	4	6	--
Hoe (narrow)	1	2	3	--
Hoe (broad)	1	4	6	3
Kettles (brass)	1 lb.	--	--	2½
Looking Glasses	--	--	--	--
Pipes	--	--	--	--
Rum	--	--	--	4 or 5
Rum "mixed with water"	--	--	--	--
Beads	--	--	--	--
Salt	1 lb.	--	--	3
Vermillion	1 lb.	--	--	20
Red lead	2 lb.	--	--	20
Stroude	1 yd.	--	9	4
Plains or half-thicks	1 yd.	6	3	2
Duffel blankets (white)	1 yd.	2	--	(1 complete) 8
Duffel blankets (blue or red)	1	--	9	2 yd.-7
Duffel blankets (striped)	1	6	9	--

Table IV.A (cont.)

<u>Goods.</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Creek price</u>		<u>Settlement</u>
		"heavy drest Skins" (number)	Skins, "Light" (number)	(white) prices "Heavy drest deer skins" (pounds)
Double striped cloth shirt	1	6	--	3
Coat (broadcloth, laced)	1	--	--	--
Coat (stroude, laced)	--	--	--	--
Coat (half-thicks, laced)	1	no price	30	--
Coat (double-striped cloth, laced)	1	20	21	14
Coat (stroude, plain)	1	14	27	16
Coat (half-thicks, plain)	1	--	18	--
Hat (laced)	1	18	no price	12
Hat (plain)	1	12	no price	3
Calico (flowered)	1	no price	no price	2
Scarlet caddice	--	--	no price	--
Red girdle	3 yd.	--	no price	1
Petticoats (calico)	1 yd.	--	no price	4

B. "Rates of Goods in the Upper and Lower Creek Nations"
 (after Brannon 1935:50-51), as established by a
 congress held in Pensacola, May 28, 1765

<u>Goods</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Price (in lbs. of Leather)</u>
Strouds	2 yds.	8
Blanket	1	8
do. Shagend	1	6
White Shirt	1	3
Check do.	1	4
Fringed Housing	1	10
Laced ditto	1	6
Gartering	1 pr.	4
Dutch pretties	1 do.	2
Quality binding	3 yds.	1
Silk feuet	2 do.	1
Indian calico	1 do.	4
Trading Gun	1	16
Flints	10	1
Hawks Bells	10	1
Gun Powder	$\frac{1}{2}$ pint	1
Bullets	40	1
Roman handkf	1	2
Saddles according to quality		
Snaffle Bridle	1	4
Bailey Corn Beads	5 Strands	1
Common do.	20 Strands	1
Trading Scissors	1 pr.	1
Knife	1	1
Cutteau	1	3
Trading Razor	1	2
Vermillion	1 oz.	1
Brass Wire	3 spans	1
Ear Bobs	1 pr.	2
Large Silk Bengall	1	4
Small ditto	1	3
Pea Buttons	12	1
Brass kettles		no fixed price
Tin Kettles		no fixed price

C. Prices Charged for Goods at Fort Hawkins ca. 1810.

After (Mattison 1946:179)

<u>Goods</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Price (in dollars)</u>
Sugar	1 lb.	13½¢ to 20¢
Coffee	1 lb.	25¢ to 50¢
Flour	cwt.	\$4.00 to \$4.25
Needles	1	½¢ to 1¢
Gunpowder	1 lb.	50¢ to \$1.00
Osnaburg	1 yd.	25¢
Lead	1 lb.	20¢ to 25¢
Blankets	1	\$2.25 to \$2.50
Blankets, duffle	1	\$3.00 to \$4.00
Homespun	1 yd.	gen. 37½¢ (range up to \$1.00)
Black Silk Handkerchiefs	1	\$1.12½ to \$1.50
Bandana Handkerchiefs	1	\$1.12½ to \$1.37½
Whiskey	1 gal.	\$1.25
Salt	1 bushel	\$1.75 to \$3.50
Rum	1 gal.	\$1.50
Wine	1 gal.	\$1.50 to \$1.75
Spirits	1 gal.	\$1.75 to \$2.50
Linen	1 yd.	58¢ to 87½¢
Strouds	1 yd.	45¢ to \$2.25
Nails	1 lb.	20¢
Rifles	1	\$15 to \$22
Calico	1 yd.	gen. 37½¢ (range: 31¼¢-\$1.00)
Shot	1 lb.	20¢
Tobacco	1 lb.	12½¢
Romals	1 yd.	50¢
Knives	1	12½¢ to 25¢
Looking Glasses	1	25¢
Thread	1 oz.	25¢
Flints	12	25¢
Shawls	1	reg. 62½¢ (range: 62½¢-\$2.50)
Hoe	1	\$1.12½
Axe	1	\$1.50

also exporting "indigo, corn, cattle, tallow, rice, pitch, bear's oil, tobacco, tar, timber, myrtle, wax, salted wild beef, pecans, shingles, dried salt fish, sassafras, cane, staves, and oranges" (Pickett 1851:II:10). Of course, the extent to which Indians were supplying these other items is uncertain.

In 1797 the factor at Colerain reported, "We have a blacksmith here who does a great deal of work repairing Indian guns, tomahawks, &c, all of which they expect done gratis" (Mattison n.d.:49-50). There can be little doubt, then, that by the 1790's, after more than fifty years of trade most, if not all, Creek towns, had become very dependent upon the goods of the white man, even to the point of requiring the special skills of a blacksmith to keep their tools in repair. Thus, there was a kind of double dependence; not only was there a strong demand for such white commodities as cloth and domestic implements, but also the Creeks had become dependent on the whites for guns and the metal tools with which to obtain more hides to exchange for even more goods. Given this dependence, the slaughter of deer and other animals must have reached monumental proportions, particularly since by the late 1790's the price of deerskins had dropped to twenty-five cents each (Ibid.:86-88, 124-125, 247-249). The volume of trade in skins was indeed awesome. On November 12, 1797, the factor reported from Colerain that, "We have 20000 lb of skins." On November 19 of the same year, he reported, "We have ups of 20,000 wt of deerskins, between

5 & 6 of Beaver & considerable small furs & 70 head of good cattle, some excellent tobacco...has been brot [sic] in" (Mattison n.d.:98-99, 99-101). Likewise, in 1798 from Fort Wilkinson, "We have shipped for this...year upwards of 70,000 lb of deer skins, 2000 bears, 3000 small furs, otter, Bear, &c. equivalent....We have upwards of 20000 lb deer skins on hand and other peltry" (Ibid.:177-178). Also, on November 26, 1798, from ^{Fort Wilkinson} ~~another factory~~: "Have sent on about ³⁰ 70,000 lbs & have nearly as many skins and furs on hand" (Ibid.:173-174). In addition to the volume of hides actually shipped out of the trading posts, many pounds of hides were also lost to worms. Indeed one of the principal duties of the soldiers attached to the factories, was to beat the worms from the hides periodically (Mattison 1946:174). It is important to keep in mind, that these figures on hides are only those from the official U.S. factories in one region of the country. In addition, the market was being flooded with hides and furs from private firms and foreign trading houses from throughout the eastern half of North America. Thus, in the early nineteenth century, the price for hides on the world market began to decline rapidly.

Crisis and Discontent in Creek Trade

Both the U.S. factories and the Panton & Leslie company artificially stabilized the value of deerskins at the 1790's level of twenty-five cents each, and raised the price of trade goods instead. Nonetheless, the trader from Ocmulgee

Old Fields reported in 1807 that since the "English House at Pensacola" was selling their goods on as good terms as the U.S. factory, he found it necessary, in order to compete with Panton & Leslie, to reduce the cash price of goods sold to the Indians (Mattison n.d.:298-99). Despite the trader's efforts to stabilize the market, the falling deerskin prices of the 1790's and early 1800's required an increased production of hides for the Creeks to purchase the goods they desired. For example, in 1810, the most inexpensive rifle was reported to cost about fifteen dollars (Mattison 1946: 179), or at the rate of twenty-five cents per hide,² the equivalent of sixty deerhides; in 1765 the price of a gun at Pensacola was only sixteen pounds of leather (See Table IV) or, assuming very conservatively that a single dressed hide weighed no more than half a pound, only thirty-two hides per gun (See Footnote 1).

In about 1810 the prices for the most common goods traded at the factory of Fort Hawkins were as follows (Ibid.):

Sugar, 13½ c to 20c lb.	Black Silk Handkerchiefs,
Coffee, 25c to 50c lb.	\$1.12½ to \$1.50 each
Flour, \$4.00 to \$4.25	Bandana Handkerchiefs,
cwt.	\$1.12½ to \$1.37½ each
Needles, ½c to 1c each	Whiskey, \$1.25
Gunpowder, 50c to	Salt, \$1.75 to \$3.50 bus.
\$1.00 lb.	Rum, \$1.50 gal.
Osnaburg, 25c yd.	Wine, \$1.50 to \$1.75 gal.
Lead, 20c to 25c lb.	Spirits, \$1.75 to \$2.50
Blankets, \$2.25 to	Linen, 58c to 87½c yd.
\$2.50 each	Strouds, 45c to \$2.25 yd.
Blankets, duffle, \$3.00	Nails, 20c lb.
to \$4.00 each	Rifles, \$15 to \$22 each
Homespun, generally	Calico, generally 37½c
37½ yd., range 37½c	yd., range 31½ to \$1.00
to \$1.00 yd.	yd.

Shot, 20c lb.	Flints, 1 dozen fo 25c
Tobacco, 12½c lb.	Shawls, regularly 62½c
Romals, 50c yd.	each, range 62½c to
Knives, 12½c to 25c each	\$2.50 each
Looking Glasses, 25c each	Hoes, \$1.12½ each
Thread, 25c oz.	Axes, \$1.50 each

In addition to articles directly sold to the Indians, in 1808 at least one U.S. trading house, that at Ocmulgee, Georgia, was also ordering government supplies such as writing materials to be exchanged with white frontiersmen for homespun cloth, which was "a very desirable Article in Indian trade" (Mattison n.d.:314-15).

As an example of the volume of goods during this period is the following 1810 requisition from the U.S. factory at ^{Hawkins} ~~Fort Mifflin~~ (Chambers 1959:21):

- 1 - bale best London duffle blankets
- 25 - pc. blue strouds
- 2 - pc. scarles cloth to cost from 2.50 to 3.00 per yd.
- 40 - groce saxon blue binding
- 10 - groce yellow
- 10 - groce green
- 10 - groce red
- 50 - pcs. calico assorted of a good quality and fashionable. Baltimore prints does not answer well.
- 30 - pcs. calico India wide
- 10 - pcs. linen to cost from 4 to \$7½ per yd.
- 4 - bandano handkerchiefs
- 6 - doz. black silk handkerchiefs
- 20 - doz. white thread from nos. 8 to 20.
- 10 - doz. colored asst.
- 6 - doz. broad and narrow tape
- 4 - doz. brass bells suitable for horse bells
- 3 - doz. large scissors
- 3 - doz. small knives
- 3 - doz. pocket knives
- 18 - doz. looking glasses to cost from 100 ct. to 150 ct. per doz.
- 3 - doz. double bolted padlocks
- 3 - doz. single padlocks
- 2 - doz. rifl locks
- 6 - doz. knives & forks asstd.

- 2 - casks nails wrought
- 6 - doz. iron or tin tablespoons
- 4000 - needles asstd.
- 5000 - rifles flints
- 300 - rifle powder
- 4 - doz. cotton cards
- 3 - doz. stock locks asstd. and doz. woman's saddles
- 2 - doz. rifles silver star and thumb piece to cost about 11 dollars each
- 1 - rifle 3 feet 10 inches in the barrels to carry 80 or 90 balls to the pound, lock of the first quality gold, touch hold one inch longer in the breach than usual, double trigger.

In addition to hides and pelts, traders also were interested in purchasing livestock, but sometimes this was difficult as noted in this factory report from 1798 (Mattison n.d.:188, 218):

The price we have given for cattle is 5 years old & upwards (at the) Store, 12 dollars, 4 y old 10, 3 yrs & around 8, cows exclusive of calf 8 doz, 2 years old 5, 1 year old 5. ...at present ... beef is scarce & has (been) very bad. But in cattle I have purchased hitherto (a) very great part of them the Indians have killed up numbers in the woods which discourages the cattle trade.

In the 1790's Hawkins established the policy of purchasing supplies for the Agency in the local area, thereby relieving at least some of the Lower Creeks from near-total dependence on hides for participation in the cash economy. Thus, Hawkins wrote (1848:61):

The towns surrounding Cusseta have had a powerful stimulus to their industry, in the regulations adopted by the agent for his supplies. Heretofore there was no market for provisions. The wants of the traders were few, and those procured with beads, binding, thread or needles. There is now a regular market, and weights and measures are introduced. To call the supply of a single table a regular market, requires some explanation. The annual expenses of the agent's table, for the two last years, has been 2,750 dollars,... The prices

established were:

Pork, gross, per cwt	\$ 3 00	Capons, per pair	0 25
Pork, net, per hundred	4 00	Fowls, four for	0 25
Bacon do	10 00	Eggs, per dozen	0 12½
Beef do	3 00	Butter, per lb in the spring	0 25
Corn, per bushel	0 50	During summer	0 17
Potatoes,	0 50	Cheese,	0 17
Pumpkins,	0 18	Oil of hickory nut per bottle	0 75
Ground peas,	0 50		
Field peas,	1 00		

Similarly, following the Creek War, in approximately 1814, the factors were purchasing corn, peas, rice, bacon, cows, steers, fowls, and bees wax, as well as deerhides and pelts at the trading house on the Apalachicola. At that time corn was purchased for \$.75 per bushel, peas for \$.75 per bushel, rice for \$1.50 per bushel, and a cow for \$8.00 (Young 1934: 91-92). By virtue of the factories and the agency in their midst, then, many of the more important Lower Creek towns had the advantage of commercial opportunities in agriculture in addition to the increasingly troubled business of commercial hunting.

Regardless of any differences in extent of acculturation which may have existed, by as early as the 1760's the Upper Creek towns as well as the Lower Creeks had become involved in trade with whites. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Creeks were faced with an impossible situation. They had become heavily dependent upon the whites, both for consumer goods, such as cloth and blankets, and the "tools of production," such as guns, powder, flint, and lead; they were faced with rising prices for these goods, and, no doubt

the supply of game must have been rapidly declining, although further research on this point is much needed. Added to this, as noted in Chapter I, apparently there was a rapidly increasing Creek Indian population, further complicated by the advancing tide of white frontiersmen. Moreover, in addition to whatever disruption of the already embattled natural environmental balance which white settlement may have caused, there is some evidence that whites in fact may have been directly competing with Indians in the hunting business, as evidenced in the following report from Ocono Station in November of 1796: "I heard...that hunting parties after bear and deer were going daily over on the Indian lands" (Hawkins 1916:15).

Although Panton, Leslie & Company apparently had experienced a temporary advantage over the U.S. factories in being better supplied, by the early 1800's the company began to sink to financial difficulty (Greenslade 1935:120):

The firm Panton, Leslie lost money after Alexander McGillivray's death but the Spanish governors, appreciating their great services, induced them to continue.

...The dead capital of the House by 1800 was estimated at about \$400,000 included the stocks at the various headquarters, salaries, expenses and claims against the Indians.

"The debts due to the actual house" wrote a Spanish official..."must amount to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars." A heavy expense, the fund for presents to the Indians, a matter of \$18,000 annually, was a necessity, if the Indians' interest was to be maintained.

Moreover, the Treaty of 1795 between the United States and Spain had placed the richest sources of Indian trade outside of Panton and Leslie's base of operations, and the right of

the United States to regulate that trade was assured by that treaty (Pickett 1851:II:168). Perhaps the reacquisition of Pensacola by Spain in 1783 further eroded Panton, Leslie's position, in that the trading house was no longer so strongly linked to the British, whom the Creeks preferred over even the Americans, as described in the following (Stiggins n.d.:69):

...all...creek Indians as have had any intercourse or transactions... with the British or their emissaries whether of importance or not were ever partial to them and favorable to their Interest ... there are few who would not expatiate on the candid honest and liberal disinterestedness of the British as friends to the Indians in their talks to them or in their dealings, and they seemingly remark with wrath the contrast between the latter and the americans [sic] that in the observance of and faith in their contracts with the Indians that the English dealt with equitable justice and candour; but the latter with deceit and self interested political views that they ever make liberal promises to attain their purpose and only perform such parts of their contracts as will suit their convenience and evince thereby a faint recollection of the circumstances that was material to the cause--

As Panton himself wrote, "the Spaniards are losing ground in the opinion of the Indians" (Panton 1936(b):67).

By 1803, the Panton, Leslie & Company claimed that the "Creek Nation" owed the company \$113,512. By contrast, the indebtedness to Panton and Leslie of the Cherokee, Chicasaw, and Choctaw Nations was only \$2,358, \$11,178, and \$16,091, respectively (Panton, Leslie, and Company 1803:0227-29). By 1800 Panton was attempting to sell out his business to the government of the United States (Panton 1936(b):67), but "there was no deal."

Meanwhile, the U.S. factories were having their own

troubles. The cost of transporting hides from Fort Wilkinson to market in Savannah in the early 1800's varied from \$1.25 to \$2.25 per hundred-weight. From Ocmulgee Fields to Savannah, the charge was from \$2.50 to \$4.00 per hundred-weight, and from Fort Wilkinson to Augusta, the fee was \$1.00 per hundred-weight (Mattison 1946:177).

Attempts to prevent private traders from drawing upon stocks at the U.S. factories were difficult, as indicated by this report from the factor at Fort Wilkinson in 1802 (Mattison n.d.:230-232):

(I will) endeavor to restrict the trade of this factory to the Natives only, but which I fear I shall find great difficulty in doing; for as soon as the white traders find they cannot be supplied with goods at the factory as heretofore they will send in their skins & furs by some trusty Indian who will claim them as their own property and it would be difficult to ascertain to the contrary.

During the period December 31, 1807 to September 30, 1811, the factory at Fort ^{Hawkins} ~~Wilkinson~~ showed a loss of \$1,023 (Mattison 1946:187) and in 1809 the report from Fort Hawkin^e stated, "We are at this time entirely destitute of goods at which the Indians are very much dissatisfied and are under the necessity of taking their peltry to private establishments in the neighborhood, where they get little else but w(h)iskey for it (Mattison n.d., ~~1806~~:325-6). In 1806, the United States Congress attempted to remedy the problems in the peltry market by specifying that there be a minimum of six public auctions each year but no more than two in any state. Subsequently, those laws were repealed, however, and gave the superintendent of Indian trade the option to dispose of

peltries through any means available (Letter Book of the Creek Trading House 1795-1816:1). No doubt this change of the 1806 law was in acknowledgement of the fact that oftentimes peltries would bring a higher price on the local market than in exportation, if the factors were allowed to sell them locally (Mattison 1946:181). Nevertheless, the U.S. Factor, Edward Price, stated, "We dont calculate a profit on the peltries but try to put an advance on the goods where they will bear it" (Ibid.:178).

In view of the foregoing, we would suggest that one of the critical factors leading to the Creek War of 1813-14 was the differential fortunes of the Upper and Lower Creeks in trade with the whites. The U.S. factory system established its post first at Colerain, then at ^{Fort} Wilkinson, then at ^{Fort Hawkins} ~~Mitchell~~, and finally at ^{Fort Mitchell} ~~Hawkins~~, always moving westerly but remaining within the region of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers, that is, the core of the Lower Creek area. In addition, the Lower Creeks also had access to trade with Panton and Leslie through individual traders who dealt with the company in Pensacola. Finally, the Lower Creeks had a market for their agricultural produce, as well as hides, following the establishment of Hawkins' policy of supplying government installations with food purchased from the Indians. The U.S. factories were, as government-owned businesses, capable of operating at a loss, which they did. In contrast, the Upper Creeks for the most part were at a greater distance from the government-subsidized trading posts of Georgia and

eastern Alabama and seem to have dealt primarily with private traders, in particular those representing Panton and Leslie. But, as we have seen, by the early 1800's the private business of Panton, Leslie & Company was in financial difficulties and could not sustain further credit to the Indians of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, as the demand for hides dropped and the prices of trade goods increased. Thus, we would tentatively hypothesize that certain elements of the Upper Creeks were most susceptible to agitation against whites, not because they were any less acculturated than the Lower Creeks, but because they were equally dependent upon white commerce but lacked the trade advantages which many of the Lower Creeks enjoyed. At the risk of oversimplification, we might say in colloquial terms that the Lower Creeks had been economically co-opted by the United States government -- the same government which refused to "bail out" Panton, Leslie and Company, leaving many of the Upper Creeks "high and dry" in their remote western Alabama homeland, without access to the favorable trade relations which the Indian groups surrounding them experienced, vis a vie, the U.S. factory system.

In the changing fortunes of Creek trade, for their part Panton, Leslie and Company were accused (Stiggins n.d.:72-3) of having operated

...through the channel of white traders who were located in the nation, for the purpose of trade, said traders through interested motives, misled them and by false representations irritated their passions to make reprisals for supposed injuries that would be, they induced them eventually

to commit murders among the recent settlers of Tennessee and steal their horses under the impressed idea that such a procedure [p. 38] would deter the white people from moving into the country, and thereby they could do their hunting undisturbed. the dishonest part of the traders urged them on and instigated their stealing of the horses from the Tennesseans which horses when stolen brought four or five gallons of rum, to pack their peltry and hides on to market, after the furr [sic] and peltry trade was put down in Europe and packing of horses to market of no farther use, the stealing of horses was so prevalent a habit with the white and red man, that they followed, but to a lighter passion to the war of Eighteen hundred and thirteen--

By 1814, Panton & Lealie's successor, Forbes & Company, apparently had recouped some of the losses of its predecessor through trade with the Lower Creeks (Seminoles?), as indicated in the following (Young 1934:99-100):

The only trading establishments were a branch of the House of Forbes & Co., formerly Panton Leslie & Co., on the Apalachicola and one made by an Englishman named Arbuthnott at Sawhanna. The former brought goods from Cuba - the latter from New Providence.

The house of Forbes and Co. have made an immense fortune by their trade with the lower Creeks from whom when their debts accumulated, they take large bodies of land in payment under the consent of the Spanish Government. The tracts of land owned by them in East Florida... extends on the east side of Apalachicola from the mouth of that river, to a point not far below Flint thence, eastwardly across Little River to Olalokina and thence southwardly to Apalache embracing the Wakally and its head spring. This tract of country will be of incalculable value to the proprietors should the United States retain the Floridas. At present the good land does not sell high and might be probably bought for two dollars per acre. (Young 1934:99-100)

Moreover, at least an uneasy alliance between Forbes & Company, the British, and Hostile Creeks during the Creek War is indicated by the following exchange in 1815 (Doyle 1932: 190-191):

[Letter from Doyle to John Forbes & Co.]
 ...a Considerable Stock of Cattle has been nearly
 destroyed by the Indian Allies of His Brittannic
 Majesty....

Letter from Forbes to --
 The Honourable the Commissioners
 for Victualling his Majesty's Navy
 London

Debtors to John Forbes & Co.
 for the amount of upwards of four hundred Heads
 of Cattle of different sizes and ages killed by
 the Red Stick Indian allies of His Brittannic
 Majesty in the Creek Nation...

.....\$2,668 3½

Deduct

The value of 50 Heads which is reported still
 exists on the Cattle range

.....400
 Dollars 2,268 3½

The U.S. factory at Fort Hawkins continued to operate during the Creek War but at a loss over the four-year period of 1811-1815 of \$380.88 (Mattison 1946:183). Ultimately, the factory system failed, and the last factory, Fort Hawkins, closed out to the Indians in 1822.

Even in the years following the Creek War and the subjugation of the hostiles, the factory system proved inflexible and inaccessible to the Indians. Many of the Creeks preferred to sell their hides at half price and pay double price for trade goods at the private posts operated by recently arrived white settlers, rather than travel the distance to the factories (Ibid.). Thus, the Creeks were further impoverished. Within twenty years the Creek Nation would cede their remaining lands, and all but a handful would be forced to emigrate to Oklahoma. Though it may have been political intrigue and military strength which ultimately would crush Creek sovereignty, economic forces struck the

first blows, when early in the eighteenth century the Creeks were lured unwittingly down the primrose path of trade and into the modern Western world.

An incident recorded by a Forbes and Company trader at Tuckabahohse, principal town of the Upper Creeks, on October 30, 1812, poignantly portrays the kind of economic bind into which commerce with the whites had led the Creeks (Innerarity 1931:81-83).

...some of the Indians [said]... they did not owe us more than one half of what we claimed - that we charged the other half for interest which they said they were determined at all events not to pay... * * * Mr. Bernard who was present & who was their friend [told] ...them it was the custom every where, that when any sum was not paid [sic] when due interest was always charged, that money could not be had without interest... * * * ... they said they did not like me... [that] I wanted to tear the very flesh off their backs, they had told me they were poor, that they knew nothing about interest, about what it meant, it might be a custom, a law among us white people, but poor Indians did not understand it, there was no word for it in their language, we were the first to ever talked about such a thing to them.

Footnotes

1. Mr. Frank Smith, research biologist for the Wildlife Management section of the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, estimates that the freshly skinned hide of the average adult deer of this area would weigh between five and ten pounds. The same hide would weigh about two pounds when dried, but considerably more if tanned. (personal communication)

2. Although there is some confusion in the literature as to whether the price for skins was 25¢ per lb. or 25¢ each, whichever the case, using the estimate for weights of skins provided by Mr. Smith (see footnote 1), the price of goods in Creek trade increased several fold during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Chapter IV: Technology

It is almost a truism that in culture contact situations, elements of so-called material culture are those most readily transferred from one society to another. Oftentimes the physical products of Western Civilization have been acquired by members of native societies well in advance of actual, regular intercourse between the two peoples. Nonetheless, it is equally true that selected items of native manufacture may acquire symbolic value and thus be retained long after the native material culture has undergone major transformation as a result of contact with another society. This is particularly true when a technologically advanced society impinges on native peoples. In addition, material products of western European civilization adopted by native peoples oftentimes are adapted to indigenous fashions and styles. Therefore, material culture may be used as an initial indicator of the degree of acculturation among the Creeks during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of Creek material culture during the period, with special attention given to the role of European and American products in the technological inventory of the Creeks.

Men's Clothing

Aboriginally, the Creek male's clothing was made primarily of dressed skins but with various accouterments woven of hair or natural plant fibers. In addition, the body was adorned by painting and tatooing, the latter generally representing an individual's war honors. Ornaments were also made of feathers, bone, and shell. The Creeks sometimes wore stone nose ornaments suspended from a hole in the septum with a sinew (Swanton 1928b:685). Creeks were also reported to have cut a slit in the outer flesh of the ear and then wrapped the loosened piece of flesh with large quantities of brass or silver wire (Ibid.). Like other southeastern Indians, Creek men were careful to remove all facial and body hair. Their costume would be completed with a hide or feather cloak for cool weather.

By 1764, an observer in Pensacola, Florida, in describing the appearance of the Creeks, noted that they were fond of facial paint and other aboriginal forms of body ornamentation but they also offered deerskins in exchange for blankets, "shirts of all sorts," beads, looking glasses, razors, knives, firearms, flints, powder and ball, and rum (Gordon 1765:385). By 1777, the costume of the Creeks had come to be a rather fanciful combination of native manufactures and materials obtained in trade. A description by Bartram (1791: 501-505) of the general style of Creek costume in the year 1777 merits citation at length.

The youth of both sexes are fond of decorating

themselves with external ornaments. The men shave their head, leaving only a narrow crest or comb, beginning at the crown of the head, where it is about two inches broad and about the same height, and stands frized upright; but this crest tending backwards, gradually widens, covering the hinder part of the head and back of the neck: the lank hair behind is ornamented with pendant silver quills, and then jointed or articulated silver plates; and usually the middle fascicle of hair, being by far the longest, is wrapped in a large quill of silver, or the joint of a small reed, curiously sculptured and painted, the hair continuing through it terminates in a tail or tassel.

Their ears are lacerated, separating the border or cartilaginous limb, which at first is bound round very close and tight with leather strings or thongs, and annointed with fresh bear's oil, until healed; a piece of lead being fastened to it, by its weight extends this cartilage to an incredible length, which afterwards being craped, or bound round in brass or silver wire, extends semicircularly like a bow or crescent; and it is then very elastic, even so as to spring and bound about with the least motion or flexure of the body: this is decorated with soft white plumes of heron feathers.

A very curious diadem or band, about four inches broad, and ingeniously wrought or woven, and curiously decorated with stones, beads, wampum, porcupine quills, &c., encircles their temples; the front of it being embellished with a high waving plume, of crane or heron feathers.

The clothing of their body is very simple and frugal. Sometimes a ruffled shirt of fine linen, next to the skin, and a flap which covers their lower parts; this garment somewhat resembles the ancient Roman breeches, or the kilt of the Highlanders; it usually consists of a piece of blue cloth, about eighteen inches wide; this they pass between their thighs, and both ends being taken up and drawn through a belt round their waist, the end falls down, one before, and the other behind, not quite to the knee; this flap is usually plaited and indented at the ends, and ornamented with beads, tinsel, lace, &c.

The leg is furnished with cloth boots; they reach from the ankle to the calf, and are ornamented with lace, beads, silver bells, &c.

The stillepica or moccassin defends and adorns the feet; it seems to be an imitation of the ancient buskin [sic] or sandal, very ingeniously made of deer skins, dressed very soft, and curiously ornamented according to fancy.

Besides this attire, they have a large mantle of the finest cloth they are able to purchase, always either of a scarlet or blue color; this mantle is fancifully decorated with rich lace or fringe round the border, and often with little round silver, or brass bells. Some have a short cloak, just large enough to cover the shoulders and breast; this is most ingeniously constructed, of feathers woven or placed in a natural imbricated manner, usually of the scarlet feathers of the flamingo, or others of the gayest colour.

They have large silver crescents, or gorgets, which being suspended by a ribbon round the neck, lie upon the breast; and the arms are ornamented with silver bands, or bracelets, and silver and gold chains, &c. a collar invests the neck.

The head, neck, and breast, are painted with vermillion, and some of the warriors have the skin of the breast, and muscular parts of the body, very curiously inscribed, or adorned with hieroglyphick [sic] scrolls, flowers, figures of animals, stars, crescents, and the sun in the center of the breast. This painting of the flesh, I understand is performed in their youth, by pricking the skin with a needle, until the blood starts, and rubbing in a blueish tinot, which is as permanent as their life.

Apparently, this general style of clothing became relatively stabilized over at least the next fifty years, for in the Lower Creek country in 1825, Bernhard (1828:II:23) says:

In the grog-shop near the agency on the Flint River we found a collection of drunken Indians, and some negroes... Several of them were well dressed; they wore moccasins and leggings of leather; broad knee-bands ornamented with white glass beads, a sort of coat of striped cotton, and upon the head a striped cotton cloth, almost like a turban. ...for a treat of whiskey... eight of them performed a war dance.

During the same year, another observer, Michael Kenan (Swanton n.d.(s):7-8) reported from Fort Mitchell, that the Indians liked to follow the fashions of the whites, but returned to their old style once newly-acquired white clothing had worn out:

They admit of little or no change, and adopt new

styles, new fashions and new pursuits with a slowness that amounts to indirect rejection. ... altho the Indians's nature is to follow the fashions of the whites (if given to them) they hardly remain in them longer than the presents last, resuming their "moccasins & leggins," belts, fringed gowns with capes also fringed; & their heads attired with light 'turbans' made with cotton shawls or handkerchiefs [sic] & decked in feathers or skins of birds. War implements, the rifle, tomahawk, bow & arrow, match or 'tinder'-horn, with steel & flint to strike a fire, always accompany them.

As late as 1836, a report of a party along the Chattahoochee River describes the same general type of costume as observed in the eighteenth century, as follows (Sunderman 1953:8, 11):

Paddy Carr appeared , ...decked out in a scarlet turban with a strip of white cloth around the centre, in indication of their friendly disposition and a scarlet scarf was thrown over one shoulder, beside their usual dress of calico hunting shirts, and buckskin leggins. Some of them also wore a small looking-glass suspended around the neck, for the purposes of the toilet and in the hand unoccupied by the rifle was held a fan made of the feathers from the tail of a wild turkey * * *

...ahead of all rode Major Paddy, on a cream coloured borse, his saddle covered with a scarlet blanket; and at his side hung an Indian bullet pouch or sukchahoo-che, highly ornamented with party-coloured beads; his turban distinguished from the rest by the graceful floating of an eagle's feather.

Note in the above quote that although much of the material of the costume is of European derivation, buckskin leggins are still worn, eventhough earlier, in 1777, Bartram reported the use of cloth leggins. Needless to say, there was probably considerable stylistic variation in the dress of the several thousand Creeks of the time. However, the data are sufficient to indicate that, although by the latter quarter of the eighteenth century many items of European manufacture had been incorporated into Creek men's dress, these items

were integrated into a distinctively Indian clothing style. This Creek man's fashion became rather stabilized and continued as such well into the 1830's, although at the later date, presumably, many poor Creeks were wearing less elegant clothing directly fashioned after the whites.

Women's Clothing

Styles in women's clothing, like that of the men, showed early European influences. Nonetheless, as late as 1740 from the town of Coweta, comes the following description (Anon. 1916:221):

Women are mostly naked to the Waist wearing only one short Petticoat wch reaches from their Waist a little below their Knees, they are very nice in Smoothing and putting up their hair, it is So very long when untied that it reaches to the Calves of their Legs.

However, by 1777, Creek females usually wore some covering for the upper part of the body, as described by Bartram (1791:503):

The dress of the females is somewhat different from that of the men: their flap or petticoat is made after a different manner, is larger and longer, reaching almost to the middle of the leg, and is put on differently; they have no shirt or shift, but a little short waistcoat, usually made of calico, printed linen, or fine cloth, decorated with lace, beads, &c. They never wear boots or stockings, but their buskins reach to the middle of the leg.

Nevertheless, even as late as 1791, Swan (1855:275) reported that the women "in general wear no clothes in summer except one single, simple, short petticoat of blue stroud tied around the waist and reaching only to the upper part of

the knees, and in winter they have only the addition of a blanket (if they can get it) thrown over their shoulders." In addition to the blue stroud (a type of cloth made especially for Indian trade) mentioned above, as early as 1777 Creek women were using silver broaches and large quantities of silk ribbon in the decoration of their hair (Bartram 1791:503).

Children, up to the age of twelve or fourteen, were reported to have gone about stark naked in both summer and winter, according to a report of 1791 (Swan 1855:275). However, an earlier source indicated that female children were attired in women's dress even before they could walk (Bartram 1791:504).

Tools and Weapons

Although a great variety of European goods already had been introduced to the Creeks by the mid-eighteenth century, Swan reports (1855:692) that in 1791 the Creeks continued to manufacture such traditional items as earthen pots, baskets, buckskin, wooden spoons, and stone pipes. Indeed, elderly informants among the modern-day Eastern Creeks of southwestern Alabama, who are descendants of the so-called "Friendly" Creeks, remembered from their youth that there were elderly individuals who continued the manufacture of such traditional items as buckskin, the bow and arrow, and, in one case, even occasional simple ceramic vessels. Even so, fifteen years before Hawkin's arrival, Bartram (1791:513) writes as

though much of the native utilitarian technology of the Creeks was already in decline:

As to the mechanic arts or manufactures, at present they have scarcely any thing worth observation, since they are supplied with necessaries, conveniences, and even superfluities by the white traders. The men perform nothing except erecting their mean habitations, forming their canoes, stone pipes, tambour, eagles tail or standard, and some other trifling matters; for war and hunting are their principal employments. The women are more vigilant, and turn their attention to various manual employments; they make all their pottery or earthenware, moccasins, spin and weave the curious belts and diadems for the men, fabricate lace, fringes, embroider and decorate their apparel, &c. &c.

Similarly, Wight (1935:243) in 1771 begins his list of Creek household furnishings with "Braes and tinn Kettles," but also includes such native items as "pots and Pans of Clay."

One traditional tool which was very important in the processing of maize was the wooden mortar and pestle. This item remained an integral part of Creek technology well into the twentieth century. For example, Speck reported (1915: 109) that among the Oklahoma Creeks in 1905, the corn mortar was "a permanent fixture in nearly every house-yard." Likewise, contemporary Eastern Creek informants report the use of the wooden mortar and pestle until about 1920.

Beginning at least as early as Hawkins' arrival, there were concerted efforts by whites to introduce the plow among the Creeks (aboriginally they used wooden and shell implements for tilling their fields). Although this implement was eventually accepted by the Creeks in their agricultural technology, as noted in Chapter II, initially there was resistance to the use of horses as draft animals and, thus, the

use of the plow. However, lists of Indian trade goods dating from as early as 1716 do include metal hoes (Brannon 1935:45).

Hawkins also attempted to encourage the Creeks to spin and weave cotton cloth. Eventually, he was moderately successful in his efforts, particularly with the Lower Creeks. However, in 1799 Hawkins found that even in the Upper Creek towns of Tukabahchee, Hilibi, and Otciafoka white traders had already introduced spinning to their Indian wives and relatives (Hawkins 1848:39-40, 43-44).

Whatever conservatism there may have been amongst the Creeks in the acceptance of domestic and agricultural tools, the adoption of white-manufactured hunting implements and weapons appears to have been very rapid. Most important in this regard were steel axes, knives, and above all, guns and rifles. The Creeks acceptance, and indeed their reliance upon firearms for their role in the trade industry and for warfare, established a double link of Creek dependency on whites. Not only did the white man supply metal tools, but also the Creeks were dependent upon whites for repair of their tools and weapons, since the Creeks lacked the materials and necessary technical expertise to do their own repairs.

In the interest of maintaining the hunting trade, in pre-Revolutionary days the British established gunsmiths at Coweta, Okfuskee, and Little Tallassee and paid them a government salary of £ 25 per year (Swan 1855:691-2). Perhaps this precedent established the sentiment behind an

Indian's demand for free repair of his gun by a blacksmith who worked on Alexander McGillivray's plantation, as described by Caleb Swan (Ibid.):

Wm. Walker, McGillivray's overseer, is a blacksmith, he had procured a small anvil, which, in that country, might be estimated as almost worth its weight in gold. An Indian chief demanded of Walker, that he should mend his gun without receiving pay for it, alleging that he and his children lived upon the milk of the beloved man's cows, and were indulged to stay in the country without trading, which was pay enough, and more too. Walker still refused to mend the gun without such compensation as had been made to him in common, for his work; upon which the chief took a sledge hammer, and dashed the anvil to pieces. By this blow, the chief deprived himself of subsistence, and distressed nearly a third part of the nation. The Indians have as little consideration as gratitude.

Apparently the rifles with which the Creeks were supplied made the services of gunsmiths and blacksmiths especially important, for Swan reports (Ibid.:263) that:

The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting; a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or \$50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country.

However, by at least 1802, the United States government had established at government expense two blacksmiths shops in Creek territory, as the British had done before them (McDermott 1956:48).

In addition to rifles, there is even one report from

Tuskegee, an Upper Creek town, that in 1799 there were cannon kept in the town square. These cannon were inoperable and had been salvaged from the former French fort, Toulouse (Hawkins 1848:44). From the same report, we learn that the people of Tuskegee town:

have some cattle, and a fine stock of hogs, more perhaps than any other town in the nation. One man, Sam MacNack, a half-breed, has a fine stock of cattle. He had, in 1799, one hundred and eighty calves. They have lost their language, and speak Creek, and have adopted the customs and manners of the Creeks. They have thirty-five gunmen.

It is important to take note that the MacNack referred to as a half-breed who had adopted Indian ways would later remain loyal to the U.S. and be explicitly designated as a "Friendly Creek." He also was the father of the first Indian, David "Moniac," ever appointed to West Point, who later fought in the Seminole Wars of the 1830's (Nuzum 1974:1-B). Finally, Sam MacNack was one of a handful of Friendly Creeks who remained in Alabama after the Removal, and founded the contemporary enclave of Creek Indian descendants in Escambia County, Alabama.

Another element of armament introduced relatively late amongst the Creeks was the gunstock warclub. Its importance was probably as much symbolic as practical. This type of club is reported to have been first introduced by Tecumseh when he visited the Creeks at Tuckabahchee in 1811 in order to urge them to join his far-flung movement to organize resistance to further white encroachments, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. As described by one reporter,

the club was "shaped like a gun stock, made of heavy wood; on the end of some of them is a steel or iron spike 3 or 4 inches long. Previous to that time [Tecumseh's visit] the Creeks only used the tomahawk, bows and arrows, the gun and scalping-knife" (Claiborne 1880:495). The similarity of shape between this type of club and a gunstock suggests that the weapon might be considered as much a fetish as an implement of war, in the same way that in some of the cargo cults of the South Pacific imitation watches and mock firearms were part of the magical equipment used by believers to speed the departure of colonial powers and paradoxically, the arrival of European goods--"cargo"--for the natives. If Nuñez (1958) and others are correct in interpreting Tecumseh's activities as at least a quasi-religious or quasi-magical nativistic movement, this interpretation of the meaning of the gunstock club is plausible, although difficult to demonstrate at this late date.

The Shawnee, Tecumseh, is also credited with another activity amongst the Creeks which is consistent with the nativistic movement interpretation, namely, his attempt to eliminate the use of alcohol by the Creeks (Anon. 1818:102). A few years earlier, in the new religion of Handsome Lake, a Seneca, the use of alcohol was forbidden also (Wallace 1969:241). Likewise, the peyote religion which diffused rapidly among American Indian groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries carried with it an injunction against drinking alcoholic beverages. Apparently Tecumseh

was unsuccessful in his efforts to eliminate alcohol among the Creeks (Anon. 1818:102). By the time of the Creek War and afterward, intoxication had become a severe problem for the Creeks. However this was not always the case. In the early eighteenth century, unscrupulous traders already had begun to ply the Creeks with liquor, but, Debo (1941:34) has stated:

For a long time ... they remained indifferent to the white man's firewater. They had occasionally been treated to the strange drink as a mark of special favor, but they were uncontaminated by its influence. The English government tried to restrain the traders from selling intoxicants, and when these regulations were violated the Creeks had been known to splinter the kegs with their tomahawks and spill the contents untasted.

As late as 1775, Romans (1962:93) was still able to report that the Creeks were the only Indians that he had acquaintance with who stored some rum and would not drink it all at once, even though he noted that the Creeks did "drink to excess as well as others." By the early 1800's intoxication was "a habit extending from the national chiefs to the [p.18] poorest dregs of the nation, for when they are in a state of intoxication all personal destruction among them is prostrated with the tenant to the ground... chiefs common men and women will wallow in filth and mire so long as they can raise the means to purchase spirite to drink" (Stiggins n.d.: 58). Even so, in 1805 an observer from Milledgeville, Georgia, said "they are all 'drunkards,' but never all drunk at once! Two at least, remain sober to take care of the intoxicated ones" (Swanton n.d.(b):9). In 1819 near the

town of Cosita, Hodgson (1824:II:263) encountered the following scene:

As we approached the cabin ... we saw some Indians in their wigwams on the road-side. One was lying asleep before the door, his head covered with a blanket, and when I pointed to him, a woman, who was sitting over him, said, "Whiskey sick - Whiskey sick."

Hodgson also wrote that upon his arrival at Irish Bainbridge (Ibid.:33):

My host regretted, in most feeling terms, the injury which the morals of the Creek Indians have sustained from intercourse with the Whites; and especially from the introduction of whiskey, which has been their bane.

Finally, by 1836, what little land was left to individual Creek Indians often was taken through the medium of alcohol, according to Sunderman (1953:250):

Whiskey was the principal source of Creek misery. In "establishments" near the reservations white "shopkeepers" sold the Croeks abundant supplies of liquor. In return for credit they took liens on Creek property. Speedy foreclosures were common. When intoxicated the Indians frequently fought and occasionally killed. Creek men and women would lie promiscuously on the ground in drunken stupor through the night. When their senses returned they found themselves heavily indebted or their land gone.

Even in the 1970's some Eastern Creek informants stated that one of their forebears reputedly had lost his homestead in the early 1900's because of the debts he incurred ordering liquor shipped by train from Pensacola.

The damage done to the Creeks, and other Indians, by the white man's liquor is perhaps one of the earliest examples of "chemical warfare." Unlike guns, rum was not a "weapon" the Craeks could turn on the whites.

Housing

The typical, traditional house of the Creek apparently was made of wattle and daub, roofed with cedar or pine bark or, later, with cedar shingles, as in this interesting description from Coweta town in 1740 (Anon. 1916:221):

Their Houses or Hutts are built with Stakes and plaistered [sic] with Clay Mixed with Moss which makes them cery [sic] warm and Tite.

Other early descriptions of Creek houses are also provided by Wight and Swan:

The Way of the Indians house that they Live in at there towns 27 feet long and 15 feet Broad and 12 feet high they Make the frame of Wood they tye Sticks a Cross from one Post to another then they Get Clay and Grass and Mixes up to Geather and Plaisters it a bout Half a foot thick they Cover the Roof With Clapboards and Bark on the top Which Hould out the Rains So that their houses are Seldom Wett Inside [Wight 1935:243].

The houses they occupy are but pitiful small huts, commonly from twelve to eighteen or twenty feet long, and from ten to fifteen feet wide; the floors are of earth; the walls, six, seven and eight feet high, supported by poles driven into the ground, and lathed across with canes tied slightly on, and filled in with clay... The roofs are pitched from a ridge pole over the centre, which is covered with large tufts of the bark of trees. The roofs are covered with four or five layers of rough shingles, laid upon rafters of round poles, the whole secured on the outside from being blown away, by long heavy poles laid across them, and tied with bark or withes at each end of the house. ...The chimneys are made of poles and clay, and are built up at one end, and on the outside of the house...

They have but one door at the side and near the centre of the house; ...this is barricaded by large heavy pieces of wood, whenever they quit the house....[Swan 1855:692].

En route to Tustacaugee and New Yorka towns in 1796, Hawkins (1916:28) commended the hospitality of the Creeks who fed

him and his horse, but observed that their houses and livestock were poorer than those of the Cherokee. The flavor of Creek domestic life in villages and temporary camps during the early 1800's is partially conveyed by the following vignettes:

[1819--]...Cosito...appeared to consist of about 100 houses, many of them elevated on piles from two to six feet high, and built of unhewn logs, with roofs of bark, and little patches of Indian corn before the doors. The women were hard at work, digging the ground, pounding Indian corn, or carrying heavy loads of water from the river: the men were either setting out to the woods with their guns, or lying idle before the doors.... [Hodgson 1824:II:265]

On the banks of several streams we saw parties of several Indians, who had settled themselves there for a few days, to assist travelers in swimming their horses... Their rude dwellings were formed of four upright saplings and a rough covering of pine bark, which they strip from the trees with a neatness and rapidity which we could not imitate. [Ibid.:264]

[1825--]We passed several wigwams and temporary Indian huts, in which the men lived with the hogs, and lay around the fire with them. A hut of this description is open in front, behind it is closed with pieces of wood and bark. The residents live on roasted venison and Indian corn. The hides of the deer, and even of cattle, they stretch out to dry in the sun, and then sell them. At one hut, covered with cane leaves, there was venison roasting, and bacon smoking. The venison is cut in pieces, and spitted on a cane stalk, many such stalks lie upon two blocks near each other. Under these the fire is kindled, and the stalk continually turned round, till the flesh is dried through. Upon this is laid a hurdle made of cane which rests on four posts. To this are all the large pieces suspended. The hams of bacon are laid upon the hurdle so that the smoke may draw through them. [Bernhard 1828:II:28]

The country is comparatively populous inhabited by Indians. They live partly in wigwams, partly in bark cabins. Before one of these huts, or cabins, hung a skinned otter, upon which they seemed preparing to make a meal. [Ibid.:24]

[1836--1]... visited the camp of some friendly Indians on the Alabama side on the Chatahoochee,... their wigwams...are built of the bark of the pine-tree stretched over four poles driven perpendicularly into the ground, The sides were open... the internal domestic arrangement consisted of ... a blanket or two spread upon the ground, upon which were sitting the squaws engaged in making moccasins... and around them were playing the little naked papooses. Upon a log outside sat the dignified heads of families, engaged either in smoking their pipes, or in the enjoyment of luxurious indolence. ...the chief was a venerable looking old gentleman, who glorified in the title of Col. Blue; he had served under Jackson in the last war with the rank of Col. which title he had retained in preference to his Indian cognomen of Blue-Warrior. He sat in silence grandeur at the entrance of his wigwam, a little flag waving over his head indicating his amity. [Sunderman 1953:3]

In addition to the private dwellings of individual Creek families, each Creek town (but not the outlying villages) had at its center a set of public structures. These civic centers usually were built on the highest elevation in the town (Bartram 1791:453). The typical town center consisted of a "Big House"-- also referred to as a "hothouse" or "rotunda" --which was a large, solid hemispherical structure roofed with thatch or mats and sometimes covered with mud; the "Square Ground," consisting of four three-sided "cabins;" and the Chunky yard or ballgame field with a post at its center. Creek town centers have been described in great detail by many writers, and Howard (1968) has traced the evolution of the public buildings of the Creeks, as well as other southeastern Indian groups.

Each town's center was the site of political meetings, war rallies, the conferences of high-ranking men, and performance of public ceremonies, such as the Busk (Green Corn

Ceremony). Apparently the general form of the public centers of Creek towns changed little throughout the period that the people remained in their native territories. However, there is some indication, (e.g. Swan 1855:693) that through time the individual homesteads of Creek families became more dispersed, often along rivers and streams, and away from the town centers. Hawkins appears to have encouraged such movement and in 1812 states, "I believe nine-tenths of the Lower Creeks have left their old towns and formed, or are forming settlements on the creeks and rivers where the lands are good and the range for stock good" (Halbert and Ball 1895: 85). After the Removal to Oklahoma, in many places the Creeks reconstructed their town centers, not at the core of a concentrated settlement, but rather in a location easily accessible to the scattered families who had come from the same native town in Alabama or Georgia (See Opler 1952). Moreover, very few of the towns attempted to reconstruct their "Big House" upon their arrival in Oklahoma, and retained only the square grounds and "stick ball" field. Several square grounds are still in use in Oklahoma today (See Howard 1968). One architectural feature of these centers which may have been an innovation in the period of the Creek War and immediately following was the construction of a lightweight stockade immediately around the square ground, as indicated in the following from Camp Armstrong, on the Chattahoochee in 1813 (Schakelford 1813):

...they have a small fort built of poles which a strong man could put up, in this fort is their square where they hold their talks there are four houses

fronting each other the front open something like a Piassar where the chiefs set agreeable to Rank, in these houses are deposited their relics, & scalps. The town house is a large building built round at the botom [sic] for three or four feet hight [sic] out of sticks & mud with large post of the same hight which supports a plate, inside of this wall is other large post in the senter [sic] against which rest the remainder of the rafters so as to bring the roof to a point in a conical form on these rafters are tied small lathes which support the bark of which the roof's made, there is only one door which makes it as dark as midnight.

The arrangement and general style of construction of the ceremonial or civic center of Creek towns is perhaps one of the most conservative features of Creek material culture. Nonetheless, associated with some town centers were fascinating relics derived from European sources. Previously mentioned were the French cannon in the square at Tuskegee. Likewise, physical evidence of the British presence remained in many Creek towns in 1791, as well as the allegiance which many Creeks held for their former colonial overlords (Swan 1855:275):

For near forty years past, the Creek Indians have had little intercourse with any other foreigners but those of the English nation. Their prejudice in favor of English men, and English goods, has been carefully kept alive by tories and others, to this day. Most of their towns have now in their possession British drums, with the arms of the nation, and other emblems, painted on them; and some of the squares have the remnants of old British flags yet preserved in them. They still believe that the "great king over the water" is able to keep the whole world in subjection.

By far the most intriguing and mysterious of all Creek public relics, are the famed brass and copper plates of Tuckabahchee town. By 1759 these plates had come to occupy an important place in the ritual and ceremony of the Tuckabahchees (Pickett 1851:I:84-86):

On the 27th of July, 1759, at the Tookabatcha square, William Balsover, a British trader, made inquiries concerning their ancient relics, of an old Indian Chief named Bracket, near a hundred years of age. There were two plates of brass and five of copper. The Indians esteemed them so much, that they were preserved in a private place, known only to a few Chiefs, to whom they were annually entrusted. They were never brought to light except once in a year, and that was upon the occasion of the Green Corn Celebration, when, on the fourth day, they were introduced in what was termed the "brass plate dance." Then one of the high prophets carried one before him, under his arm, ahead of the dancers - next to him the lead warrior and then others followed with the remainder, bearing aloft, at the same time, white canes, with the feathers of the swan at the top.

Formerly, the Tookabatcha tribe had many more of these relics, of different sizes and shapes, with letters and inscriptions upon them, which were given to their ancestors by the Great Spirit, who instructed them that they were only to be handled by particular men, who must at the moment be engaged in fasting, and that no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they were deposited. Bracket further related, that several of these plates were then buried under the Micco's cabin in Tookabatcha, and had lain there since the first settlement of the town; that formerly it was the custom to place one or more of them in the grave by the side of a deceased Chief of the pure Tookabatcha blood, and that no other Indians in the whole Creek nation had such sacred relics...

* * *

...When the inhabitants of this town, in the autumn of 1836, took up the line of march for their present home in the Arkansas Territory, these plates were transported thence by six Indians, remarkable for their sobriety and moral character, at the head of whom was the Chief, Spoke-oak, Micco. Medicine, made expressly for their safe transportation, was carried along by these warriors. Each one had a plate strapped behind his back, enveloped nicely in buckskin. They carried nothing else, but marched on, one before the other, the whole distance to Arkansas, neither communicating nor conversing with a soul but themselves, although several thousands were emigrating in company; and walking, with a solemn religious air, one mile in advance of the others.

(See Howard [1968] for more detailed discussion of the derivation, use, and history of these plates).

Transportation and Communication

Prior to the introduction of the horse, sometime in the late 1600's or early 1700's, land transport for the Creeks was by human carrier, with the assistance of a tumpline. On the origin of horses among the Creeks, Bartram wrote (1791: 215-216):

A horse in the Creek or Muscogulge tongue is enchoclucco, that is the great deer, (echo is a deer and clucco is big;) the Seminole horses are said to descend originally from the Andalusian breed, brought here by the Spaniards when they first established...East Florida... [T]he ... Chactaw horses among the Upper Creeks... are said to have been brought thither from New-Mexico across Mississippi, by those nations of Indians who emigrated from the West, beyond the river.

Hogs and cattle are similarly accounted for, according to Abernathy (1965:19):

Scrawny hogs, whose ancestors are supposed to have been left by DeSoto and whose descendants are said to be the modern razor-back, roamed the woods; and in the canebreak region near the Gulf, large herds of cattle, sometimes numbering many hundred, found their own forage, summer and winter alike.

Although horses were ridden by the Creeks, their most important use seems to have been in the transportation of meat and hides from the annual hunts (Swanton 1928(b):693-94).

The Creek country was marked with a number of well-travelled trails and pathways. For example, during the 1790's Pickett says (1851:II:133):

The average travel was twenty-five miles a day. The route from Pensacola was a well-beaten path, leading up the country, and across the fatal Murder Creek, and thence to within a few miles of the Catoma, when it diverged into several trails, one of which led to Tookabatcha, along the route of the old Federal road, the other to Montgomery and

Wetumpka, by the Red Warrior's Bluff, now Grey's Ferry, upon the Tallapoosa. This trail continued to the Tennessee River.

In 1805 the Creek Nation signed a treaty, permitting the U.S. government to maintain a road through their country for travel from Georgia into Florida (Cotterill 1954:152). Along this road, Indian entrepreneurs, often mixed bloods, owned and operated hostels for travellers. By 1825, the Creek Indians had established toll bridges at some points, as described in this traveller's account from near the Flint River in 1825 (Bernhard 1828:24-25):

The Indians have thrown bridges over two brooks with marshy shores, at each of them we paid... half a dollar toll-money. The bridges are... not remarkably good, yet better than several in the... state of Georgia... We met but few of the Indian inhabitants; these were all wrapt in woollen [sic] blankets. We only saw three wigwams, Indian houses, chiefly toll-houses of the bridges.

For water transportation the Creeks aboriginally made dugout canoes from cypress logs, using fire to assist in the hollowing process -- "some of them commodious enough to accommodate twenty or thirty warriors" (Bartram 1791:227). In historic times, at least, the Creeks also made use of a coracle-like skin boat similar to the "bull boat" of the Missouri River tribes, as revealed in two entries from Caleb Swan's account of his trip with Alexander McGillivray from New York back into the Creek Nation in 1791 (Swan 1855:253):

Sept. 25th. The Indians killed a stray cow in the woods, and stretched her skin over hoops, into the shape of a bowl, with which to make the experiment of getting over the river.

Sept. 26th. Early in the morning the Indians commenced the business by swimming and towing the skin boat by a string, which they hold in their

teeth, getting up a general war-hoop, to frighten away the voracious alligators that inhabit this river in vast numbers.

Although lacking writing the Creeks did have devices for extending communication beyond the human voice. In 1776, Milford observed that certain elders among the Creeks had in their care strands of "beads," which by their arrangement served as mnemonics of important events of the past. With the aid of such beads these elders were able to relate history of twenty to twenty-five years (McDermott 1956:34). In 1803, an individual named Mad Dog who was the keeper of wampum belts, (woven strings of shell beads), used these to preserve the history of the diplomatic relations of the Creeks (Forbes 1931:287).

In the absence of calendars the Creeks were able, nonetheless, to make arrangements for meetings at definite times in the future by distributing to the parties sets of short pieces of wood representing the number of days before the meeting was to be held, with the instruction that a piece of wood was to be thrown away as each day passed (Swanton 1928b:704). Although not referring specifically to the Creeks, Claiborne (1880:495) provided the following description of the means by which threat of war could be carried rapidly amongst the Indian settlements:

All the Indian nations have a particular kind of war-whoop and wardance. Whenever they get any news threatening war, or of a warlike character, the war-whoop is raised by those who hear it, hearing which, the people of the town assemble at the square. When a chief gets news that the white people are coming, or that war is at hand, he despatches [sic] runners to the head chief and to the different towns

to carry the news. When the runner gets close enough to the town, he gives the war-whoop and continues whooping and running on through the town to the square, where all who are present raise the war-whoop, which speedily assembles the people. Other runners then are immediately started off, and in this way the news spreads speedily through the nation - swifter than it could be carried on horseback. A well-trained young Indian can run 50 miles from day-light to dark - going all the time in a long lope, and never tiring or stopping.

Soon after his arrival Benjamin Hawkins used runners to establish an efficient network of communication throughout Creek country (Ibid.:263).

From The Secretary Of War To Captain Guion, At Natchez, Dated September 29th, 1797.

Mr. Benjamin Hawkins, principal agent for the Southwestern Indians, has organized a line of runners, through his jurisdiction, to carry orders, letters and dispatches. One of these will pass from the Chactaw and Chickasaw nations, once every three weeks, to the little Turkey town in the Creek country, and thence to Tellico, in Tennessee, and to Colonel Gaither's headquarters on the Oconee.

Finally, in 1798, the U.S. factory at Fort Wilkinson employed James Galpin as "an express rider" to the Creek Nation (Mattison n.d.:149-50).

Chapter V: Social and Political Structure

John Swanton in his classic work, Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy (1928a), assembled much of the available information on the native social structure and political organization of the Creek Indians. Therefore, rather than attempting to replicate Swanton's ethnographic synthesis of the source materials, the purpose of this and the following chapter is to adumbrate significant changes in Creek social and political organization during the period of this study. However, in order to accomplish this purpose, a general summary of the major outlines of Creek social structure will be presented first.

Clan, Pbratry, and Moisty

The major social and political institutions of the Creek Indians were based on kinship, specifically the principle of matrilineal descent. The fundamental social institution of the Creeks was the matrilineal clan. These clans were non-localized and regulated marriage, in that they were strictly exogamous. In some cases clans held political and ceremonial prerogatives. Also, clans functioned as economic groups in the assignment of plots in the town plantation. Finally, clans were legally responsible for their members. Writing as late as 1818, one observer (Anon. 1818:102)

stated, "In many instances their laws make relations responsible for each other; this has created among them a great attention to family; there is little special intercourse, except among those united by the ties of blood."

The Creek clan holding the most pronounced special privileges was the Wind Clan. Stiggins (n.d.:65) reported:

The nation consists of nine clans or families Viz, the Wind the Bear the Panther the Bird the Polecat the Fox the Potato the Red Paint and the isfanna which is composed of many small ones-- of all the clans the most numerous & privileged is the wind family who are admitted exclusively to raise with their sticks and embody their clans people three times to take satisfaction of an offender toward one of their family, that is for minor offences such as committing adultery stealing etc. by one of another family, whereas should any of the other clans rise with their sticks and embody once and the offender escape them and they lay down their sticks they can embody no more, the Boos ke tah Green Corn Ceremony is a curb and restraint to the privilege of the wind family, for if an offender escapes, after one of the wind family has raised his clansmen, and keep out of reach to the celebration of the Boos ke tah then in that case they are as one of the other clans obliged to withhold--

Moreover, "all grown women of the Wind family are to be called grandmother by all the other families" (Swanton 1928(a):145). However, there are indications that other clans held titles, or at least names that carried with them political authority, for example (Ibid.:305):

At Tuckabagchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti Atcagági, the tástánágis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a

share in his government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war.

Creek clans were loosely grouped together into phratries. However, the phratry connections of specific clans varied somewhat from town to town. According to Swanton (Ibid.: 123) phratry organization was manifested clearly at the annual busk:

At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them.

In general, the strongest Creek social ties were between members of the same clan and, secondarily, between clans linked in the phratry relationship. Nonetheless, there is evidence of friendship and close social relationships which transcended lines of consanguineal kin ties (Swanton 1928a:

452, Stiggins n.d.:57).

In addition to groupings of clans into phratries, a moiety division was another principle of social structure underlying much of the political life of the Creeks. The clans of each town were divided into two groups, i.e., moieties: one called hathagalgi, "white people" or "white clans," and the other called tcilokogalgi, or "people of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which did not use the Muskogee language" (Swanton 1928a:156-158). The clans of the white moiety were ritually and socially associated with matters of peace; those of the other moiety were associated with war and its symbolic color, red. Another function of the moieties was that this alignment determined the sides in ball games played within a town (Ibid.:165). Unlike clans and phratries, the moieties did not regulate marriage, but there is some indication that in ancient times the white clans did not intermarry (Ibid.).

Towns

Although in theory Creek clans might constitute one large kinship group, in reality the clans were dispersed amongst the several local settlements called talwa or town. In other words, each local territorial group of the Creeks consisted of representatives of several clans. The towns had definite boundaries, indicated by creek ridges (thus, one possible origin of the English tribal appellation, "Creek") or other landmarks (Stiggins n.d.:56). As noted

previously, each town corporately owned its hunting territories and held a communal plantation in which each clan cultivated its plot. Towns functioned also as the primary ceremonial unit of the Creeks.

Civil leadership in each town was provided by individuals who bore the title micco (mico, miko). According to Stiggins (Ibid.), many towns had at least one tenth of their population bearing this title. These titles represented a gradation of guardians or overseers of town property and supervisions of such matters as the relegation of responsibilities for maintaining the town plantation, and distribution of stores in the town granary (Swanton 1928a:278). The highest ranking micco held the most authority. The head micco were also responsible for the scheduling and organization of the busk (Green Corn Ceremony), the major ceremony of each Creek town.

The inauguration of a new micco is described in the following account from about 1790 (Stiggins n.d.:56):

... When it is thought necessary by the principal men or committee of townsmen to make a mic co, they proceed very ceremoniously in their rude way to his inauguration, to wit -- without his being previously consulted on the subject, when they have made the determination to effect it, and at their townhouse assembly, they advance up to him and call him at the same time in a loud long and shrill tone by a name that he is thereafter to go by, with the addition of mic co -- for instance such as vo ho lo mic co ... and at the same time they smear his face over with white clay -- a ceremony imitating in importance the accolade of Knighthood and Sir -- though some of the mic cos do rise to be a principal chief it is by his merit, for his nominal office is for town purposes to admonish regulate and keep in peace the members of their town people by whom they are regarded with respect and deference, there are

other applicable sir names given to distinguish their grade in their town police, they attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice, but such as are appointed to national purposes....

The head micco was advised and assisted in his duties by a set of named officers, and a general council of the adult men, often meeting in the town square or at the rotunda or "hothouse." According to Stiggins (Ibid.:59) the men of a town gathered at least once a week, and in the town of Tuckabahchee they met every morning to drink the Black Drink, a ritual emetic, and discuss matters of import. As to the power of the head micco, Swanton (1928(a):279-80) says,

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action without conferring with his council. * * *

The miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

The two most important duties of the micculga or "miccos" were, internally, the maintenance of civil peace and order within the community and, externally, the conduct of diplomacy, particularly peace negotiations, in extra-town relations. Of all the functions of the micco, it was the authority to negotiate settlements of peace with other groups which seems to have been most seriously undermined as a result of contact with whites. Suggestive in this regard is Hawkins observation that, "in some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have

been much embarrassed" (Hawkins 1848:72). These developments seem to parallel closely the problem of the League of the Iroquois in New York State during colonial times, in that local war leaders often were able to achieve greater power than the traditional sachems of the League, and thereby override the authority of League chiefs. (This point will be dealt with more in the next chapter.)

In matters of warfare, leadership also was provided by a ranked series of officials, as described by Swanton (1928a: 297):

...there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the *tástanálgí*, the next in rank the *imaȳa ȳáká'lgí*, or "big imalas," and the third the *imaȳa ȳábotškálgí* or little imalas.

While Swanton's description suggests a permanent structure of talwa war leaders, Milford about 1780 suggested that while the title may have been permanent, the authority of war leaders was transient. Although it is unclear whether his remarks apply to the head warrior of towns per se, or only to a "national" War Chief, Milford states (McDermott 1956: 165-167, 176-177) that the "Tastanegy or Grand War Chief's" mission

was to direct all military operations, take all necessary measures to avenge an injury inflicted on the nation, and defend its rights. He was invested with sufficient authority for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentry of the state, the father, shield and buckler of the homeland, only lasted so long as the danger. Once peace was reestablished and the troops had returned to the bosom of the nation, he became again a private citizen and was only the chief soldier.

If he had given no occasion for complaint

during the exercise of his authority, he always retained the right to resume his post as soon as the opportunity arose; and for that very reason, it was incumbent upon him to watch continually over the public safety and apprise the peace chiefs of any injuries inflicted on the nation or of anything that might disturb its tranquility. When he had announced the necessity of mustering the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red, which meant that a portion of the nation, that is, the young men, must be prepared to march. For if the whole club had been painted red, the entire nation would have had to hold itself in readiness, something that happened only in exceptional cases.

* * *

When it is necessary to order the warriors to rendezvous at a given place, the Grand War Chief distributes to each subordinate chief a club partially painted red. This is generally accompanied by a given number of little wooden sticks which serve to indicate to the warriors who carry them to the different districts of the nation the day they must appear at the general rendezvous with the required number of young warriors. Each day, at dawn, they throw away a stick, and the day they throw away the last one should correspond with their arrival at the rendezvous. There have been few cases of delay in the general muster. In order to prevent any slip of memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give the password daily to each chief, this being usually the name and date of the rendezvous.

* * *

During the battle, the Grand Chief is usually stationed in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever he thinks the danger greatest, and when he sees that his army is giving way and he fears lest it surrender to the enemy, he then advances in person and fights hand to hand. A war whoop repeated to the right and the left notifies all the warriors of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all the reserve corps close ranks and march to the place where the Grand Chief is in order to compel the enemy to relinquish him; if he is dead, they would rather all be killed than abandon his body to the foe without first taking his scalp. They attach such dishonor to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is great and they cannot, despite all efforts, prevent his falling into the enemy's hands, the warrior nearest the chief kills him himself, takes his scalp, and, running off with a yell known only to the savages, proceeds to the

place to which this same chief had directed them to retreat in the event of defeat. All the subordinate chiefs, informed of the death of the Grand Chief by this yell, prepare to retreat, and as soon as that is accomplished and before taking any other measure, they proceed to appoint the new Grand War Chief so that the enemy will not be aware that the first one has been killed.

The Muskogees are very warlike and are not discouraged by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march against their enemy as intrepidly as before.

Even if the authority of the Great Warrior or Tastanegy of a town might have been limited to times of actual warfare, there was some strain in the relationship between the head war leader and the micco with his counselors. For, as Hawkins noted (1848:72), civil and military leaders might disagree as to when war was necessary:

War is always determined on by the Great Warrior. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk.

The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off.

It would appear then, that by at least the late eighteenth century, the administration and leadership of Creek towns was characterized by some degree of tension between the civil authorities, that is the micculga, and the military leaders.

The Confederacy

The origin of a confederation of Creek towns is unclear. Swanton (1928a:307) gives the following overview of the alignment of towns within the Confederacy:

The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided... geographically, into two groups which came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kashita and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town [one whose mico came from a clan in the White moiety] from among the Upper Creeks, Abihks was added to these, and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the Head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social revalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta māmā'yāgi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta Yāko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nāgi. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters."

Although Swanton credits the Lower Creeks with establishing the confederacy, there is a curious contradiction with Bartram's observation that the Lower Creeks "are ... a treacherous people, lying so far from the eye and control of the nation with whom they are confederate..." (Bartram 1791:438).

Regardless of the origins of the confederacy, the extent to which it could exact compliance from the member towns is a matter of some question. Schoolcraft (1860:VI:199) noted:

"The Muskogees, or Creeks, assumed to be a confederacy of seven tribes, but their association was so loosely organized, so destitute of governmental power, that it could not make levies, procure volunteers, meet out punishments, or grant rewards." Similarly, Swan (1855:279) writes: "Every individual has so high an opinion of his own importance and independence, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to impress on the community at large the necessity of any social compact, that would be binding upon it longer than common danger threatened them with the loss of lands and hunting ranges." In essence, the Creek Confederacy appears to have been a kind of uneasy non-aggression pact among the several towns of which it was comprised (Swanton 1928(a):406). The extent to which the Confederacy was something more than simply a non-aggression pact is a matter of some debate.

As early as the 1770's, the French traveller, Bossu, described an annual general assembly of the representatives of the various towns of the Creek Confederacy, meeting at "the chief place of the nation" in a "great cabin" made expressly for the assembly (Ibid.:310). From about the year 1790, Milford (McDermott 1956:145-147) provides the following description of the national assembly of the Creeks:

...the chiefs of the nation must assemble every year in the month of May to hold a grand council and discuss there all affairs, domestic as well as foreign, of interest to the nation. When all are congregated at the rendezvous called the Grand Cabin,... the council is constituted, and after it is constituted no member may leave the enclosure till all the business of the nation is concluded. The president alone is permitted to absent himself for a brief period, but he is obliged,

like all the rest, to pass his days and nights in the assembly and to be present at all the deliberations.

While the assembly is in session, no one may come within twenty paces of the Grand Cabin. Only the warrior chiefs are admitted here. The subordinate chiefs present are there to wait upon the others, but they have no voice in the deliberations. The women are charged with the preparation of the necessary food and drink for the assembly; they bring the provisions and put them down at the designated distance; the subordinate chiefs go to fetch them and in turn place them in the Grand Cabin for the assembly.

In the center of the quadrangle formed by the cabins a fire is kindled which burns continually. At sundown the young people of both sexes congregate and dance round this fire till an appointed hour. During this time the assembly adjourns, and each member, if he thinks fit, betakes himself to the cabin allocated to his rank; or else he remains in the Grand Cabin to enjoy the dancing and diversions of the young folk, but without being permitted to leave the quadrangle till all the business of the assembly has been transacted. When the dances, which may not last beyond a stipulated time, are over, each of the members, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, lies down in the cabin appertaining to his rank; but at the break of dawn, a drum summons all the chiefs to the assembly which remains in session till sundown.

Despite the ambiguity of the extent to which the Creek Confederacy was a viable and solidary political unit invested with authority, Swanton (1928b:696) suggests that the Confederacy contained within it a sense of national territory:

Ownership of land, or perhaps rather control of land, was by towns, but in the case of...the Creeks ... a kind of eminent domain was exercised over it by the larger body [the confederacy]. This was usually latent, making its appearance principally when the town desired to part with its lands to outsiders, such as the whites. Within the towns lands, ownership depended upon occupancy and was terminated with it.

Within the Creek Confederacy there appears to have been a clear political division, as well as geographical separation,

between the Upper and Lower Creeks. For example, "these two towns have, in almost every instance, furnished the head Chiefs of the nation: Tuckabatchee furnishing the upper town Chief - Cuseta, the Lower town Chief" (Woodward 1859:14). Indeed, one writer implies that there was a collective sense of regional territory between Upper and Lower Creeks, respectively, in that originally the Upper Creeks did not infringe on the hunting rights of the Lower Creeks, but, following the close of the American Revolution in 1783, the Upper Creeks did begin to lay claim on the right to hunt in territory of the Lower Creeks (American State Papers, Indian Affairs 1832:II:785).

Within the division of Upper and Lower, there were yet further distinctions along lines of peace and military functions, as for example amongst Lower Creeks it was reported that Apalachicola was considered to be the "mother town" of the confederacy, "it was sacred peace" and no capital punishments were inflicted there; however, the Lower town of Coweta was known as the bloody town, and it was there that criminals were executed and that assemblies for preparation for war took place (Claiborne 1880:499).

There is considerable variation among observers in their characterizations of the strength of the Creek Confederacy government. These differences of opinion are instructive with regard to the problematic nature of the Creek Confederacy. For example, in 1791, Caleb Swan stated "the government, if it may be termed one, is a kind of military democracy. At

present, the nation has a chief whose title is Steutsa'cco'-Cho'ota' or the great beloved man. He is eminent with the people only for his superior talents and political abilities" (Swan 1855:279). However, another writer (Anon. 1818:101-102) in 1818 suggested that while the government of the confederacy itself remained essentially democratic, the town "chiefs" were invested with considerable authority in their own right:

The government of the Creeks is in form republican; each town or village elect a chief or king, whose authority is never disputed so long as he remains in office, and who represents his town in the great council at which the business of the nation is transacted, and where a speaker or head man of the whole is elected. The military authority is distinct and subordinate to the civil. McIntosh, the celebrated warrior, reports to and receives orders from the civil head of the government. But although their chiefs are thus elected they are invested with more power than any legitimate sovereign in Europe, and the submission the people pay to their superiors is so remarkable, that they freely submit to the most arbitrary acts of the chiefs.

During the twenty-five years between these two descriptions, it would appear that at a formal level, the leaders of the Confederacy had attained considerably more power than was the case in the latter half of the eighteenth century. A description by Stiggins (Swanton 1928a:314-315), although somewhat self-contradictory, suggests that the United States government may have played an important role in formalizing the power and authority of the Confederacy over town leaders.

The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is

summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digasted by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannize after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

In former days in the time of their self importance and undisturbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the U.S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U.S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and diamiss them.

By 1825 the national council of the Craek Nation appears to

have become, if not a powerful body, at least a highly structured and ritualized assembly, as indicated in a report by Kenan from Fort Mitchell in that year (Swanton n.d.(b):7):

Smoking the Calumet precedes all important National deliberations, through which the Council's authority is invoked, to arbitrate dissensions, or settle conflicting interests belonging to "Towns" or Settlements... After the Council is declared ready for business, a line is formed of the Chiefs, Headmen, Warriors & Speakers, including Delegates, Medicine men, & other distingues, ranged according to rank and influence. This file or line is formally approached, Pipe in hand, by the presiding officer of the Council,...lights the Calumet, takes a whiff & passes it to the King or Head man, & so on, to the last of the participants. As the last graceful curl of smoke ascends away, the 'man of ceremony' raises his hand & supplicates the favor of the Great Spirit upon their deliberations; seeming to regard the fumes as conveys & messengers.

Law and Order

The available evidence suggests that while the national assembly of the Creek Confederacy originally may have been limited in its power to exact compliance from its constituents, within each town, local officials held considerable power. According to Swanton (1928a:356-357):

Failure to attend the busk was penalized by the imposition of fines or confiscation of property, and similar punishments were resorted to for other derelictions in duty to the community. Thus, the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, horse, or something else to punish them."

Likewise, although adultery ordinarily was punished by the kinsmen of the offended, if an individual committed the act a third time, this became a matter of public concern to be

dealt with by town authorities (Williams 1930:152):

...for their law says, that for public heinous crimes, satisfaction should be made visible to the public, and adequate to the injuries of the virtuous, - to... prevent others from following such a dangerous crooked copy. ... they are ordered by their ruling magi and war-chieftains, to be shot to death, which is accordingly executed; but this seldom happens.

Incidentally, a report in 1777 from the town of Muklasa reveals that a trader had become entangled in the local code of justice (Bartram 1791:447-448):

...my friend the trader... had been detected in amorous intrigue, with the wife of a young chief ...[l]egal satisfaction...in this case is cutting off both ears of the delinquent, close to the head, which is called cropping.

Although some sources indicate that there were no explicite laws against stealing (Hodgson 1824:II:267-8), Claiborne (1880:493) stated, "theft... is punished by whipping. The Creeks not only whip severely, but cut off the ears of the culprit, and fasten them up in the town square," which suggests that thievery, like repeated adultery, was regarded as a public crime.

One offense that was significantly not regarded by the Creeks as a public crime was that of murder. As is true of many peoples of the world, the Creeks of the eighteenth century regarded murder as a private matter between clans. Thus, in technical terms in customary Creek law murder was treated as a tort rather than a crime. From about the year 1800 comes this description of the Creek customs regarding retribution for murder (Stiggins n.d.:66):

...when one of another Clan should even by chance

should kill one of their blood relation on the mothers side of the family, their customary laws ... dictate who so sheddeth mans blood by man his blood must be shed-- Time nor distance cannot palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his cousins or brothers on his mothers side is taken . one of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the lost male for male and female for female....

Hawkins (1848:74-5) in 1799 reported that there was a more exacting alternative to "indiscriminate" clan revenge, but explicitly states that neither town nor national authorities had any jurisdiction regarding cases of murder:

If murder is committed, the family and tribe[clan] alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitively. When the tribe may be effected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim of satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promises reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

One must take care to note that the Creek institution of retribution followed matrilineal clan lines exclusively, as neatly expressed by Claiborne (1880:493-4), "If an Indian's wife is killed, some of the clan of the deceased wife must kill the slayer. Should the husband do it the clan of the slayer would kill him."

The Creek treatment of murder as a matter to be dealt with between the clans of the murderer and his victim, rather

than a public crime, was a major source of difficulty in the Creeks' dealings with whites. In the Euro-American view, of course, murder was regarded as one of the most heinous of public crimes to be punished by the community at large. As Hawkins succinctly states (1848:75): "This right of judging and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or the tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed." However, as early as 1752, at least some Creeks attempted to accommodate to the differing view of whites in the punishment, as in Bosomworth's vivid description of such an episode at Abihkutci. Bosomworth was an English agent, and was on a mission to try to get the Creeks to atone for the murder of a white which had taken place. The Indians were not used to killing their own people for having killed an "enemy" (i.e. white or non-Creek Indian). The "uncle" of the Indian who had committed the murder addressed himself to the assembly (Bosomworth 1756:87):

The man that has Committed the mischief is my own flesh and Blood ... he said that if his nephew was afraid to Dye, for the good of his people and for Satisfaction to the English, he would Sacrifice his own Life for him... The uncle retired to a Conference with his Nephew and Told him that the Day was Come that one or the other of them must Dye... without further Hesitation... the nephew found a Long French Knife with that in one hand and paint in the other with which he Besmirched himself Came out into the open Street and made a Publick Declaration that as one of his Family had spilt the Blood of a white man and was affrayed to Dye for it he was going to pay the Debt for him for the Good of his people and for Satisfaction to the English and with the greatest undauntedness Struck the Knife into his Gullet and immediately Dyed with the Wound.

Be that as it may, as early as 1799 the elimination of the

custom of blood revenge appears to have become a major concern of the United States government, as they tightened their control over the Creek Nation and its national assembly. In July, 1817, the Council of the Creek Nation at Fort Hawkins, under pressure from General Mitchell, the United States Agent, abolished "their ancient law of retaliation, which permitted a murder to be satisfied by taking the life of a relation of the murderer, if the principal could not be found; and have thus forbidden the practice of indiscriminate revenge. On this point they have passed a written law" (Niles Weekly Register August 16, 1817:399). The abolition of the custom of clan revenge did not necessarily lead to the adoption of white standards of legal justice in the case of murder, as indicated by an episode recorded by an anonymous traveller (Anon. 1818:102) in 1818, just one year after the abolition of clan revenge:

In one of the villages I passed, there had been a few days before a fracas, at which a man was killed. The murderer was immediately secured and the chief ordered him to dig a grave for the man he had killed and put him into it. After he had done this, he told him to put a cow hide over the man; while doing this the chief knocked him in the head, and buried them both together, acting him self as judge, jury, executioner and sexton.

Moreover, the abolition of blood revenge was not automatically accomplished by the action of the Creek national assembly, as intimated by Hodgson (1824:II:267): "The murderer is now publicly executed; the law of private retaliation becoming gradually obsolete" (emphasis ours).

War

The Creek Confederacy, while founded on agreement of non-aggression amongst the towns, had to deal with the problem of a strong emphasis on warfare in Creek culture. In part, the military exploits of the Creeks were economic in nature, as noted by Romans (1962:91) in 1775, "truly politicians bred, and so very jealous of their lands, that they will not only not part with any, but endeavor constantly to enlarge their territories by conquest and claiming large tracts from the Cherokees and Chactaws." Equally important to any economic motives was the role of warfare in the establishment of individual prestige and achievement of political influence among the Creeks. "Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys" (Swanton 1928a:366). One of the major evidences of success in warfare was the taking of scalps. All scalps were not equal in value but were classified, depending upon the exploits that were necessary to obtain them; apparently the chiefs established the value of each scalp. Advancement, both civil and military, is based upon the number and value of these scalps" (McDermott 1956:194). In short, without warfare, Creek men had no avenues to political prestige and authority within the town.

Warfare was no casual matter, however, but attended by much ceremony and activity tinged with religious significance. Milford wrote (McDermott 1956:172-173):

There are two war medicines, the "big" and the "little," and it is for the Grand Chief to designate which is to be taken. The big medicine fanaticizes the soldier, so to speak. When he has partaken of this, he thinks he is invulnerable... The little medicine serves to diminish, in his eyes, the dangers. Full of confidence in his chieftain, he is easily persuaded that, if the little war medicine only is administered, it is because the circumstances do not warrant the big. It therefore rests with the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to account.

This medicine... has two purely physical effects. The first is that, since the Indians are very fond of strong drink, a way must be found to deprive them of it without causing them to murmur. The medicine, whether big or little, offers such a means, because they are not allowed to drink any liquor before taking it, a regulation that they observe very punctiliously. And the chief, being at liberty to order it whenever he deems it expedient, may in this way maintain the utmost sobriety in the army. The second effect is that this medicine is really aperient, and the warrior thus purged finds himself less exposed to danger from his wounds, which, in point of fact, heal very quickly if they are not mortal. (Ibid.:172-73)

Hawkins (1848:79-80) provides further details on Creek war medicines:

When young men are going to war, they go into a hot-house... and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau and the pos-sau, and they eat the Sau-watch-cau. The fourth day, they come out, have their bundles ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by and Is-te-pau-pau, the bones of the snake and lion.

The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau), devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him and

reserved his bones.

The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and the bones of the lion, is a great war physic.

A number of authors reported that alliances for warfare were established by sending around a stick painted red, the acceptance of which bound the town accepting the stick to take part in the expedition (Young 1934:89); this is one possible explanation for dubbing the hostiles "Red Sticks" during the Creek War. Stiggins (n.d.:70-71) credits "the national council" of the Creeks with having the authority and the power to make declarations of war:

...they wage war thus, the national council is convened, and the nature of the offence [p.35] is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors and if they conclude that the cause of Collision is so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the Enemy it is a positive declaration of war, the final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy, on a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red black and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt (a war club is shaped like a small gun about two foot long and at the curve near where the lock would be is a three square piece of iron or steele with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about two inches) .¹ they all take their seats as they come, when assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square when he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other, in a very little time their singing and dancing,

is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns-- when they are assembled on their way to the enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above--... after a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man woman & child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relatives, let them be far or near, after they have collected all kindred, they are ready to commence hostilities on their enemy, then if one of the other nation is seen by him he is certainly destroyed, their petty wars are wars of extermination (they commence by small parties on venture not man against man but tribe against tribe, it is a praise worthy action for a man or part of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he was not afraid to go into the enemy's Country but atchieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped--

A generalized description of a Creek warrior's typical attire is provided by Swanton (1928a:406):

The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt.

Equally important to the ceremonial preparations for battle were the rituals which accompanied a returning war party.

As for example, in the following, from about 1780 (McDermott 1956:220):

When a campaign is over and the army returns, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanegy... to the door of his house, and there the two eldest war chiefs help him to dismount and then remove all his garments.

Whilst this is taking place, two other chiefs hand him a strip of bark and two leaves of a tree which are to serve as a loincloth. As soon as he is undressed, the two elders who have removed his

clothes tear them in tiny pieces and distribute these among all the band chiefs who have taken part in the expedition, and each one places his share in the little medicine bag...

The army attaches such great virtue to this little bag that, should any chief forget it, he could not command. When the distribution has thus been made, they sing a war song, each fires a shot of his gun, and they then disperse to return to their respective habitations.

It is probably safe to say that the white settlers who were pressing on the borders of Creek territory at this time were relatively unaware of the seemingly religious significance of warfare. One can imagine the terror that was struck in the hearts of settlers by stories of Creek treatment of war captives, such as that provided in Adair's description of 1778 (Pickett 1851:I:121-122):

When the Creeks returned from war with captives, they marched into their town with shouts and the firing of guns. They stripped them naked and put on their feet bear-skin moccasins, with the hair exposed. The punishment was always left to the women, who examined their bodies for their war-marks [tatoos]. Sometimes the young warriors, who had none of these honorable inscriptions, were released and used as slaves. But the warrior of middle age, even those of advanced years, suffered death by fire. The victim's arms were pinioned, and one end of a strong grape vine tied around his neck, while the other was fastened to the top of the war-pole, so as to allow him to track around a circle of fifteen yards. To secure his scalp against fire, tough clay was placed on his head. The immense throng of spectators were now filled with delight, and eager to witness the inhuman spectacle. The suffering warrior was not dismayed, but, with a manly and insulting voice, sang the war-song. The women then made a furious onset with flaming torches, dripping with hot, black pitch, and applied them to his back and all parts of his body. Suffering excruciating pain, he rushed from the pole with the fury of a wild beast, kicking, biting and trampling his cruel assailants under foot. But fresh numbers came on, and after a long time, and when he was burned to his vitals, they ceased and poured water upon him to relieve him -

only to prolong their sport. They renewed their tortures, when, with champing teeth and sparkling eye-balls, he once more broke through the demon throng to the extent of his rope, and acted every pary that the deepest desperation could prompt. Then he died. His head was scalped, his body quartered, and the limbs carried over the town in triumph.

Summary

The two major underlying principles of Creek social and political organization were matrilineal kinship and success in warfare. Kin-groups functioned as corporate entities responsible for their members and the ownership of certain rights and properties, including titles. However, these titles were bestowed upon those who had demonstrated success in warfare. Thus, the two principles came together to provide leadership at the local level in the town.

The town itself was a corporate body, exercising ultimate ownership of the town's hunting territories and horticultural lands and its ceremonial relics. The social structure of towns seems to have been characterized by a dynamic tension between peaceful, civic functions and warfare expressed in the symbolism of white and red, the specific designation of particular towns as "Red" or "White" notwithstanding. Although accounts vary, the administration of the towns was conducted by officers who wielded considerable power and authority. However, in historic times those in the civil arean were sometimes overridden by war leaders. Moreover, to achieve civil office, a man first must have proven his capabilities in warfare. Beyond the level of the

town, there appears to have been a longstanding division of community interests between Upper and Lower Creeks. It may be that this separation in early contact times was simply a matter of geographic separation, and the two groupings seldom had cause to interact with each other. But with the increasing involvement in European politics and trade the Upper Creeks, in particular, began to expand into the other's territory. Nonetheless, at some point in time, a loose confederation of several Creek towns was established. (It is possible that at one time, the Confederation was a more solid, "state-like" political unit than during the period of white contact, but this would be difficult to prove.) Although the Confederation had a Grand Assembly which met annually by at least the 1770's, in its earliest period it seems to have functioned effectively only as a kind of non-aggression agreement amongst the several towns. However, through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the National Assembly of the Creek Nation became in theory if not in practice, a more regularized and efficient political body. No doubt the greater centralization of authority in the Creek Nation was aided, abetted, and supported by the United States government through such devices as annuities and payments to chiefs in the National Assembly. The encouragement and strengthening of the National Assembly of the Confederacy as a representative body of all the Creeks, whether fiction or reality, provided the United States government with a convenient organization for transacting business

legally, and, thus, with at least a semblance of fairness. In addition, through its agents, the government could manipulate the Assembly for the purpose of modifying Creek customs, as for example in the abolition of clan vengeance for murder.

This, then, was the structure providing the political "ground rules" by which individuals attempted to deal with the external economic and political forces which bore so heavily upon the Creeks as the eighteenth century concluded and the nineteenth began.

Footnote

1. In view of our interpretation of the gunstock war club, presented in the previous chapter, we should note that the time period to which Stiggins is referring in this passage is unclear. Stiggins, a mixed-blood Creek, was born in 1788 and wrote his memoirs between 1831 and 1844 (Nuñez 1957:4), thus roughly defining the decades to which his descriptions apply. His mention of the gunstock war club as if it were an indigenous item does not necessarily invalidate our interpretation, since Stiggins was only about twenty-three years of age at the time of Tecumseh's visit.

Chapter VI: Political Change and Conflict

In a recently published, two-volume work prepared in connection with a contemporary Creek Indian land claim against the United States, Doster (1974) has assembled a wealth of ethnohistorical detail on political, diplomatic, and military events and developments among the Creek and Seminole Indians during the period 1740-1823. It would be unnecessary, and indeed foolhardy, to attempt to improve upon Doster's detailed account of historical events and personalities in Creek political life of the period and their relationships with European and American powers. Therefore, only some of the highpoints of Creek political and military history during this period will be reviewed here (See Appendix B for a chronological outline). More importantly, from an anthropological perspective we will suggest some of the cultural dynamics underlying these events, in the context of the structure of Creek Indian political institutions.

Power and Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century

The Creeks were so situated geographically that throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were buffeted by economic, political and military forces emanating from the politics of international relations between Spain,

Britain, France, and the United States. In the international contest for control of the Southeast, the Creek towns relocated geographically and shifted their loyalties to external powers in an effort to maintain their own autonomy and economic well-being. For example, Lower Creek towns moved to the Ocmulgee region in the seventeenth century to escape the Spanish. Later, these Creeks returned to their former location along the Chattahoochee River when they became dissatisfied with English trade and suffered the repercussions of the Yamassee War, in which the Yamassee were aligned with Spanish against the English (Sturtevant 1971:101). Even internal events within European nations sometimes had their impact on the fortunes of the Creeks; thus, for example, Scots who had been exiled from the British Isles during the Stuart uprising settled along Georgia's Altamaha River in 1735. From this Scotch settlement came many of the traders who intermarried with Creeks (Greenslade 1935:108). Moreover, by 1764, the British had explicitly adopted a "divide and rule policy" (Fairbanks 1957:146) as evidenced in a report from the British Indian agent in that year (Ibid.):

It will undoubtedly be detrimental to His Majesties service, that too strict a friendship and union subsist between the different Indian nations within this department; it is therefore incumbent upon us all by means in our power to foment any jealousy or division that may subsist between them. But this must be done with great delicacy, and in such a manner as to not awaken the least suspicion in them that we have any end of view to answer by it.

Already by 1750 or thereabouts, there appears to have been considerable displacement and disruption of settlements

of Creeks. Thus, Eufaula was said to be "Chiefly composed of Renegades from all other Towns in the Nation" (Bosomworth 1756:94). During this period, displaced Creeks from further north apparently strengthened the Lower Creek towns in defeating their Indian enemies and then breaking up Spanish settlements in a line from the Altamaha to the Bay of Apalachee (Bartram 1791:380f.). In prehistoric times the periodic shifting of towns, due to soil exhaustion and/or depletion of firewood or other resources, may have resulted in military encounters. However, by the 1770's Bartram (1791: 391-392) collected an account from a trader at Apalachicola which indicated that pressure from European powers, coupled with the need for hunting territories, had exacerbated the potential for conflict between Indian groups:

I enquired of him what were his sentiments with respect to their wandering, unsettled disposition: their so frequently breaking up their old towns and settling new ones, &c. His answers and opinions were, the necessity they were of having fresh or new strong land for their plantations; and new, convenient and extensive range or hunting ground, which unavoidably forces them into contentions and wars with their confederates and neighboring tribes; to avoid which they would rather move and seek a plentiful and peaceful retreat, even at a distance, than to contend with friends and relatives or embroil themselves in destructive wars with their neighbors, when either can be avoided with so little inconvenience. With regard to the Muscogulges, the first object in order to obtain these conveniences was the destruction of the Yamases, who hold the possession of Florida and were in close alliance with the Spaniards, their declared and most inveterate enemy, which they at length fully accomplished; and by this conquest they gained a vast and invaluable territory, comprehending a delightful region, and a most plentiful country for their most favorite game, bear and deer.

Although the Spanish appear to have had little interest in settling the area north of Florida, they remained a force in the south with which the Creeks had to deal. At the same time, the Creeks were being pinched gradually from the east by the westward expansion of English settlements along the Georgia and South Carolina coast and white intrusions up the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers from Mobile in the southwest. Perhaps the most important early incursion from the west was the erection of Fort Toulouse in 1714, followed soon after by the establishment of plantations by first French, then Scottish and English settlers along the Tensaw and Mobile Rivers (Pickett 1851:II:9). One of these Scot settlers, Lachland McGillivray, and Sehoy, the daughter of the commander of the French fort by a Creek woman, were the parents of Alexander McGillivray. When the English took possession of the area the French abandoned the region around the Tensaw River and to the north; this was to become the nucleus of the most important military developments of the Creek War of 1813-1814.

Not only were the Creeks influenced by the European peoples and powers on their borders, but through intermarriage and trade, whites penetrated into the Creek social system itself. By the latter half of the eighteenth century a number of whites and mixed-bloods had come to wield considerable power within the Creek Confederacy. In his account of his life amongst the Creeks, LeClerc Milford claims to have been made Grand War Chief of the Coweta town about 1780.

Milford's account of his inauguration as Grand War Chief perhaps contains fanciful elaborations, but for the most part is corroborated by other ethnographic accounts and merits citation at length (McDermott 1956:155-160):

MY INAUGURATION AS GRAND WAR CHIEF

A portion of the assembly came to my house, and when all had arrived, one of the elders had me get up on a sort of litter covered with a bear skin, hung with garlands of ivy, and carried by four band chiefs [clan leaders?]. When I was seated on this litter, they set out to return to the Grand Cabin. The following order of march was observed.

Several young warriors, each carrying an eagle's tail mounted on a stick, marched in dancing rhythm, making contortions and uttering hideous yells. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies who carried a cocoanut fastened to a stick; inside this were some seeds, and he beat them by shaking it. In addition to this a young savage at his side gave the beat with a sort of tabor. Marching in front, behind and on each side of my litter, were some old band chiefs, each of whom also carried an eagle's tail, one half of which was painted red. Next came six priests or medicine men, who wore two raw deerskins over their shoulders in the form of a chasuble and carried in one hand a swan's wing and in the other the plant employed to make the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.

When we drew near the Grand Cabin, the procession halted. A priest came out to meet us, escorted by two young warriors, each of whom carried a large gourd with an opening at the top large enough to insert a hand. These gourds were painted red and contained water and some juice of the plant to which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us and, dipping his hands in this water, aspersed us, meanwhile chanting a hymn or invocation to the Genius of War. When he had finished, all the chiefs who were awaiting us in the Grand Cabin came out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they reached this priest, they dipped their hands into these gourds and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them and with one hand laid the plants they were carrying against their faces and with the other passed the swan's wings over them as though to wipe them dry. As soon as the chiefs completed this ceremony, they returned to the cabin, and when they had all gone in, the six priests or

medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all proceeded there together. The elder who had placed me on the litter came at once to help me get down and seated me on a buffalo skin which had been spread out for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank cassine, the tea-like beverage, and for twenty-four hours partook of nothing but this war medicine. It was not long before I felt severe pains in my heart, which compelled me to disgorge all the medicine I had taken and in this wise [sic] to imitate the assembly. This very nauseating ceremony lasted till sunrise. Then the entire assembly stripped themselves, and we all went, absolutely naked, to a circular cabin where the priests were awaiting us. Each of these had brought with him the brass cauldron in which he had brewed the war medicine. Shortly after this, the subordinate chiefs brought some stones, which they had made red hot in the fire in the center of the quadrangle; and the priests, singing all the while, poured over them the water in the two gourds of which I have already spoken, which produced a terrific heat and steam. The entire assembly was perspiring heavily, and my whole body was bathed in such profuse sweat that, though of very robust health, I was afraid that I should not be able to stand it. We remained about half an hour in this state; then some of the chiefs left the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all went out and plunged at once into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without great apprehension that I decided to imitate the others in this; it seemed to me highly dangerous, sweating as I was, to plunge immediately into cold water... On coming out of the water, where we remained only a short time, we all dressed and returned to the Grand Cabin where a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to come into the quadrangle of the Grand Cabin to dance round the fire, which burned continually throughout this three day ceremony, during which time no member of the assembly might either leave the quadrangle or sleep.... When I happened to get drowsy, one of the priests ... dashed fresh water in my face, and another ... rubbed it with some pebbles that he had taken care to place for this purpose in the water alongside me.

When the three days were over, I was escorted back to my house in the same manner in which I had been brought to the Grand Cabin.

By the latter quarter of the eighteenth century, although French influence had waned, the American Revolution established

a new national power, and the Creeks were to find themselves trapped as critical pawns in the game of international politics. As one analyst has stated (Kinnaird 1931a:59-60):

The Creek nation constituted the most important factor in the three-sided rivalry between Spain, the United States and British interests in the region northeast of the Gulf, not only on account of its geographical situation but because it probably could put in the field more warriors than any of the other southern tribes. The success or failure of each of the three rivals depended to a large degree upon the friendship or hostility of the Creeks. The country that could successfully dominate the Creek confederacy would in all probability become firmly established in Florida.

As has been shown, one of the most important areas in which this international rivalry bore upon the Creeks was in the varying fortunes of trade with the Americans, the British, and the Spanish. In general, the efforts of these three powers had the effect of further irritating any tendencies toward fission which were inherent in traditional Creek political structure. Nevertheless, for a while at least, individual Creek leaders were sometimes able to manipulate interests of the English, the Americans, and the Spanish to their own advantage. But for the Creeks as a whole, any benefits that accrued from being courted by rival external powers were shortlived.

Perhaps the best known and most successful of all Creek politicians was Alexander McGillivray, eldest son of the Scotch trader Lachlan and Sehoy, a half French and half Creek member of the Wind Clan. Following his marriage to Sehoy ca. 1740, Lachlan "established a trading house at Little Tallase...on the east bank of the Coosa" (Ibid.:32),

four miles above Wetumpka. "Assisted by his alliance with the most influential family in the Creek nation," (Ibid.:33) Lachlan extended his commerce to such an extent that by 1745, he had become rather "wealthy, and owned two plantations, well stocked with negroes, upon the Savannah, besides stores filled with Indian merchandize, in the towns of Savannah and Augusta" (Ibid.). Although Lachlan was to achieve great prestige and influence among the Creeks, he never attained the stature his son, Alexander, was to command.

Through the Creek institution of matrilineal descent, Alexander McGillivray socially became a Creek Indian in a Wind clan family line that had included miccos. Nonetheless, McGillivray's life style was often described as that of a large plantation owner; ca. 1780, Milford reported him to have had "sixty Negroes in his service, each of whom had a cabin of his own, which gave his plantation the air of a little village" (McDermott 1956:18). Despite his Indian social identity, McGillivray no doubt obtained unusual privilege by virtue of his wealth and his connections with white traders and settlers garnered through his father's trading company, so that he was able to surpass the privileges he might otherwise have enjoyed as "pure" Indian. As a matter of fact, there is one tantalizing report that indicates that McGillivray even may not have been very fluent in the Muskogee language. Recounting an event soon after his arrival in Creek country Milford (McDermott 1956:14-16) says,

I arrived just at the time the chiefs of the nation were wont to convene their annual national council.

...I was presented... to a man seated on a bear-skin in the center, whom I took to be the chief. ...I said some words to him in French, but seeing that he did not understand me, I spoke broken English to him, which he understood at once since he spoke the language perfectly. This man, in short, was Alexander McGillivray.... Although at that time he was only *isti atcagagi*, that is Beloved Man, he had come to this town to preside at the grand council. I spoke English well enough to make myself understood, which was very agreeable for McGillivray who spoke very little Indian.

Following the American Revolution, Georgia frontiersmen were encroaching upon the eastern border of Creek country. McGillivray took the lead in resisting the advance of the frontiersmen into former British territory. He negotiated an alliance with Spain, which held Pensacola. In 1784 McGillivray was given the title of Commissioner-General to the Indians in the service of the King of Spain; the Spanish also agreed to provide McGillivray with an annual subsidy of arms and ammunition with which to fight Georgians (*Ibid.*: 89f., Bartram 1791:62, Kinnaird 1931b:160ff.). However, in 1788 the Spanish withdrew their support of McGillivray, hoping to induce him to make peace with the United States. At this point McGillivray lent his alliance to the English adventurer, William Augustus Bowles, who was attempting to establish a Muskogee empire in Florida. However, when it became clear to the Spanish that Bowles would be allied with McGillivray, they quickly returned their arms subsidy to McGillivray. In turn, McGillivray withdrew his support of Bowles, and Bowles eventually was defeated by American forces. Perhaps it was the memory of this defeat of Bowles and his Lower Creek allies which later would dampen any enthusiasm

the Lower Creeks might have had for joining the hostiles during the War of 1813-1814 (Kinnaird 1931b:160ff.). In an effort to end the border conflict between the Georgians and the Creeks, McGillivray finally was lured to New York City, the capital of the United States at the time, to negotiate a settlement in 1790. McGillivray and several other chiefs ceded lands along the Oconee River. In return, McGillivray received a U.S. Commission as an honorary brigadier general, an annuity of twelve hundred dollars a year, and the right for the Creeks to import goods into their country up to the value of sixty thousand dollars a year duty free (American State Papers, Indian Affairs 1832:II:181f.). Thus, in 1790 McGillivray held official titles from both Spain and the United States (Ibid.).

Despite its bravado, we can see in a statement attributed to McGillivray in 1789, his clear perception of the growing territorial crisis for the Creeks; perhaps this was the basis for his attempt to hold off the Americans by negotiation (op.cit.,1:20):

We are not situated... with immense deserts at our back; ... this tells us that we must struggle hard to preserve our hunting grounds, and perish to a man in its defence: for where can we go to possess ourselves of new ones? Such forcible considerations with us, may weigh nothing in the minds of those who think that the Indians are only animals fit to be exterminated; ...but let us be what we may, let it be attempted when it will, it will be found no very easy enterprise.

At least one author of the period disputed the literacy and education of McGillivray and claimed that Alex F. Leslie of Pantan, Leslie & Company, in fact, did McGillivray's writing

for him (Woodward 1859:61). Whether true or not, it appears highly likely that Panton, Leslie & Company did maintain an interest in strengthening McGillivray's position in the Alabama-Tensaw-Tombigbee area in support of their own economic interests.

Regardless of his motives, McGillivray's actions in the New York Treaty with George Washington in 1790 was regarded by many Creeks as an act of betrayal. One of McGillivray's contemporaries reported to him that several chiefs were going to kill him, but he was warned and under the insistence of his friend returned his general's commission to Washington (McDermott 1956:103). At this point, William Bowles, who earlier had been abandoned by McGillivray, played upon these feelings and turned many of the Lower Creeks against McGillivray (Kinnaird 1931b:163). One author has suggested that following the 1790 treaty McGillivray retired to Spanish territory for a while, waiting for the controversy over his cession of land to die down (Featherstonhaugh 1844:147); however, Swan (1855:252) indicates that McGillivray regularly spent his winters along the seacoast among the Spaniards. With his connections with both the Spanish and the English and probably -- perhaps even more importantly, his connections to Panton, Leslie & Company, McGillivray was able to shift the power base of the Creek away from the traditional centers of Coweta and Tuckabahchee. In effect he established a kind of military dictatorship from his base of operations in the southwestern corner of Creek country.

According to Swan (1855:282), McGillivray established around himself a group of military retainers:

Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables - pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

Perhaps more importantly, given the inherent strain between military and civil leaders in Creek political structure, in the towns where he was influential McGillivray was able to reduce the miccos to a secondary position behind war leaders (Swan 1855:281, Pope 1792:65). Moreover, McGillivray strengthened his de facto government by welcoming into his midst "outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice and found an asylum in the Creek Nation" (Swan 1855:282). In addition to whatever economic and political supports McGillivray may have had, his legitimacy as a leader during this time of turmoil and frequent conflicts was further enhanced by his reputation as a judge and mediator of interpersonal disputes (Swan 1855:282). According to Swan, one of the most effective sanctions which McGillivray controlled over lawlessness in a town was the power to remove the local trader (Ibid.).

On February 17, 1793, Alexander McGillivray died; thus, there was a power vacuum which was not filled, and the primacy of Coweta over the Lower Creeks and Tuckabahchee over the Upper Creeks respectively, was reestablished (Swanton 1928a: 327).

The Gathering Crisis

With the foregoing overview of the activities of Alexander McGillivray, we can now return to the period of the 1780's to sketch in broader detail the events that were to lead eventually to the Creek War. In 1785, Benjamin Hawkins reported that agents of the state of Georgia obtained a cession of lands south of the Altamaha and eastward of a line running southwest from the junction of the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers to the Saint Mary's, confirming a line northeast of the Oconee River, where previous cessions had been made in 1783 (American State Papers, Indian Affairs 1832:I:16). These cessions were made by only a few towns represented. In July of 1786, Henry Knox, Secretary of War, reported that parties of Indians were making inroads into Georgia and committing hostile acts, denying the validity of the earlier treaties (Ibid.). Meanwhile, McGillivray had negotiated the agreements with Spain to provide arms in his battle with the Americans. During June, 1786, to October, 1787, McGillivray's followers were supplied with 2,200 pounds of powder, 150 guns, several hundred pounds of lead, and several hundred pounds of flints, which the Spanish purchased from Pantan and Leslie, who also were interested in having the Georgia fur traders eliminated from their competition (op.cit.:II:160). Soon after, according to Swan (1855:278f.) in the early 1790's Tories continued to stir up prejudices in favor of the British among some elements of the Creeks. So, in the 1790's, the Georgians were pressing on the eastern frontier of the Creeks and some

Creek chiefs were conceding to their demands for land, whereas others denied the validity of these claims. The Spanish were supporting the followers of McGillivray from the southwest, and the British interests were maintained by Tories and William Bowles from his operations in Florida. The Creeks then began to suffer from factionalism corresponding to these various loyalties.

Into this arena the United States introduced its factory system and sent Benjamin Hawkins to begin his program of "civilization." But, through the mechanism of annuities and agreements involving military forces, the Government introduced, according to Doster's analysis (1974:II:14), another source of internal division amongst the Creeks:

Hawkins had weaned the Creeks off presents, but the stipend, although actually a payment for land received by the United States from the Indians, introduced a new corrupting influence. Greedy and avaricious chiefs began to scheme to divert or seize upon larger portions of it; the most notable among these were the Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee and MacIntosh of Coweta, who indeed in time became men of outstanding wealth and power among the Indians. The stipend also gave Hawkins a means of controlling the Creeks, for if they committed depredations against the whites, he could easily divert a portion of stipend for reparations. The power of the chiefs to dispense the goods among their people also strengthened the positions of these chiefs.

Thus, precisely at the time McGillivray's death left a power vacuum in the western sector, United States government programs in the eastern portion of the Creek Nation were providing the recognized chiefs (who were often half-breeds and mixed-bloods, who spoke English [Woodward 1859:45]) with a new source of power, but one which contained within it the

the temptation to corruption, namely, the economic and military backing of the United States.

While many writers, including Doster, have regarded Hawkins' civilization program as more effective with the Lower than with the Upper Creeks, and perhaps this conclusion is warranted in certain respects, United States influences on the Upper Creeks at the political level were probably equally as great as those amongst the Lower Creeks. Certainly the principal towns of the Upper Creeks, as we have shown, had a strong need for the products of civilization. For example, one trader, George Cornell, a half-breed at Tuckabahchee town, was reported by Hawkins as having a stock of trade of almost a thousand dollars per year. In 1796, Hawkins recorded (1916:35-6) this conversation at the home of Alexander Cornell in Tuckabahchee:

The condition of the Indian is much bettered within 20 years, he is less cruel, more attached to a friendly intercourse with his neighbours, and mild in his manners. They have an increasing attachment to stock, & are more industrious, some few very careful and provident.

Since the treaty at Colerain the Indians have manifested a disposition for peace, unknown before, it is almost universal. Mr. Grierson says that he has seen many of the Indians in the district of the Abbecoo and they all spoke of the conduct of the U.S. as friendly and perfectly just and they were pleased with it. I asked the question.

"What would most likely the soonest disturb this friendly disposition of the Indians?"

Intrusion on the hunting grounds and horse stealing.

The latter was encouraged entirely by the whites in the nation, many of whom were more depraved than the savages, had all their vices without one of their virtues. The whites have reduced the stealing of horses to a system, their connections are extensive. Some in Cumberland, Georgia, Tennessee, and among the neighbouring tribes. This evil being

now so deep-rooted that it would require much exertion and some severity to put an end to it. The whites who had Indian families took no care of them, neither to educate them or to teach them any thing useful. They were left with their mothers, who were always the slaves of the house and the fathers making money by any and every means in their power, however roguish, and using the children and the relations of the family as aids.

By 1798 or thereabouts, the British apparently were reasserting their influence amongst the Creeks. Also by this time there emerged clear opposition to the "official," U.S. sanctioned Creek National Council, as some of the chiefs became disenchanted with treatment at the hands of the Americans (Hawkins 1848:27):

These Indians [a group near Tallassee town] were very friendly to the United States, during the revolutionary war, and their old chief, Ho-bo-ith-le Mic-co, of the halfway house, (improperly called the Tal-e-see king), could not be prevailed on by any offers from the agents of Great Britain, to take part with them. On the return to peace, and the establishment of friendly arrangements between the Indians and citizens of the United States, this chief felt himself neglected by Mr. Seagrove, which resenting, he robbed and insulted that gentleman, compelled him to leave his house near Took-au-bat-che, and fly into a swamp. He has since then, as from a spirit of contradiction, formed a party in opposition to the will of the nation, which has given much trouble and difficulty to the chiefs of the land... The exemplary punishment inflicted on [him and his associates] by the warriors of the nation, has effectually checked their mischief-making and silenced them. And this chief has had a solemn warning from the national council, to respect the laws of the nation, or he should meet the punishment ordained by the law. He is one of the great medal chiefs.

This spirit of party or opposition, prevails not only here, but more or less in every town of the nation. The plainest proposition for ameliorating their condition, is immediately opposed; and this opposition continues as long as there is hope to obtain presents the infallible mode heretofore in use, to gain a point.

Benjamin Hawkins was perhaps as much interested in establishing a colonial bureaucracy amongst the Creeks as in civilizing them. One of his important influences on the Creeks was the resolution which he prevailed upon the National Council of the Creek Confederacy to adopt at Tukabahchee town on November 27, 1799. By that resolution, blood feud was in effect outlawed; punishment for wrongdoing, specifically capital punishment, was declared not the responsibility of the individual who carried out the punishment, but of "the law." In addition, it was resolved (Ibid.:68):

...That all mischief-makers and thieves, of any country of white people, shall be under the government agent for Indian affairs, and that he may introduce troops of the United States to any part of the Creek country, to punish such persons; and that, when he calls in the troops of the United States, he is to call for such number of warriors as he may deem proper, to accompany them, to be under pay; that, in apprehending or punishing any white person, if Indians should interpose, the red warriors are to order them to desist; and if they refuse, the agent may order them to fire, at the same time ordering the troops of the United States to make common cause.

Finally, by this resolution the Creek Nation was divided, in effect, into districts, each under a ruling warrior, which were as follows after (Hawkins 1848:51-52) :

Town*	Warrior(s)
1. Hook-choie We-wo-cau Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see O-pil-lhtuc-co Thlot-Io-gat-gau	Sim-mo-me-jee of Wewocau
2. Ki-a-li-jee Eu-fau-lau	E-maut-lau Hut-ke
3. Hill-au-bee Woi-co-coie Pachushatche	Cussetah Tus-tun-nug-gee of Hill-au-bee and Thle-chum-me Tustunnug-gee of Woc-co-coie

	Town (cont.)	Warrior(s) (cont.)
4.	Au-bee-coo-che Nau-che Coosau Eu-fau-lau-hat-che	Ohohtau Haujo
5.	Ho-ith-le-wau-le Ecunhutke Sauvanogee Mook-lau-sau Took-au-bat-che	O-poie E-maut-lau of Ho-ith-le-wau-le

"These five classes comprise the towns called Ke-pau-gau, or warriors of the nation. But on the present occasion, when their existence as a nation depends on their ability to carry laws into effect, the Chiefs assembled unanimously agreed that the E-tall-wau, white towns, should be classed as warriors" (Hawkins 1848:51).

6.	Oc-fus-kee and its villages: Sooc-he-ah New-yau-cau Im-mook-fau Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see Took-to-cau-gee Au-che-nau-ulgau Oc-fus-coo-che E-pe-sau-gee	Hopaie Tus-tun-nug-gee of Oc-fus-kee and Tal-lo-waw-thluccho Tus-tun-nug-gee
7.	O-che-au-po-fau Tus-kee-gee	Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie
8.	Tal-e-see Au-to-see Foosce-hat-che Coo-loo-me	Foosce-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee of Tal-e-see and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee of Foosce-hat-che
9.	Hook-choie-oo-che Coo-sau-dee E-cun-cha-tee Too-wos-sau Pau-woc-te At-tau-gee	Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc of Hook-choie-oo-che *After [Hawkins 1848:51-52]

"Groups 6 and 8 are E-tall-wau, or white towns" (Hawkins 1848:51-52). Thus, Hawkins was able to establish a kind of indirect

rule, accomplished, in effect, by buying off the chiefs and holding the threat of military might. At the same time Hawkins obtained official concessions from the leaders of the Creeks for government control of private white citizens within Creek territory. Nonetheless, this program was not completely successful in buttressing the Factory System, as no doubt it was intended to do. It is suggested here that these actions and the accompanying influences of Hawkins had the effect of severely undermining the traditional bases of legitimacy, authority, and leadership amongst the Creeks, namely, distinction in warfare and clan and lineage jurisdiction over matters of murder and similar offenses. Somewhat more remotely, perhaps, these developments may have eroded the hitherto unrestricted authority of local town civil leaders to control such matters as agricultural production and the annual ceremonies.

The "puppet chiefs" endorsed by Hawkins sought to legitimize their decisions by reference to the increasingly strengthened national convention as shown in this report from the early 1800's (Stiggins n.d.:56):

In latter years the principal Chiefs or great men of the nation have been increased to about fifteen in number . Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes-- They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U.S. and paying their public debts-- which they seemingly do with national concurrence-- for they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention .

At the opening of the nineteenth century began a series

of treaties and concessions intended to settle Creek debts incurred at Panton and Leslie's store (Boyd 1937:62ff.). A further treaty in 1808 granted the United States government the right to run a road through Creek country (Featherstonaugh 1844:147). Thus, the first decade of the nineteenth century saw the entrenchment of United States colonial control over many of the Creeks. Although this control may have worked to the advantage of some of the chiefs and to the Creek population in closest proximity to the agency headquarters and the factories, for many of the Creeks this was a period of increasing indebtedness and declining source of supply for their hunting activities. The establishment of a peaceful regime probably also served to block the political aspirations of many young men through traditional channels, i.e., warfare. We would propose that up until the first decade or so of the nineteenth century, although the Creeks generally were becoming increasingly dependent upon whites for their economic well-being, the Indians did retain a certain degree of economic autonomy; it was, nonetheless, a period fraught with factional disputes engendered by rival European powers. However, with the death of McGillivray, followed closely by a major effort by the United States Government to economically and politically subjugate the Creeks, there apparently was widespread dissent among the common people, particularly amongst those who had been followers of McGillivray. Thus the field was ripe for a new element in Creek political life -- the Tecumseh movement.

Confrontation

Throughout the region between the Mississippi and the Appalachian Mountains, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, many Indian groups were experiencing economic and population pressure from the whites. Out of this situation arose Tecumseh and his half-brother, The Prophet, who sought to build an alliance amongst all of the Indian groups of this area in order to expel the white man. In October of 1811, Tecumseh visited the Creeks, carrying a message of military resistance and, as Nuñez (1958) has no doubt rightly observed, a magical nativistic message as well. Tecumseh's followers were to rid themselves of the products of white civilization. The essence of Tecumseh's message to the Creeks is contained in the following passage:

He played upon all their feelings, but principally upon their superstition, and sometimes assumed the character of a prophet, and carried with him a red stick, to which he attached certain mystical properties, and the acceptance of which was considered as the joining of his party; from thence the same red stick applied to all Indians hostile to the United States.... His merits were duly appreciated by the British government, and they made him a brigadier general in their service. [Anon. 1818:102]

I saw the Shawnees issue from their lodge; they were painted black, and entirely naked except the flap about their loins. Every weapon but the war-club - the first introduced among the Creeks - had been laid aside. ...Tecumseh led the warriors. The Creeks, in dense masses, stood on each side of the path...; they marched to the pole in the center of the square, and then turned left. At each angle of the square Tecumseh took from his pouch some tobacco and sumach, and dropped it on the ground; his warriors performed the same economy. This they repeated three times as they marched around the square. Then they approached the flag-pole in the centre, circled round it three times, and, facing

the north, threw tobacco and sumach on a small fire, burning...near the base of the pole. On this they emptied their pouches. They then marched in the same order to the council.... [Claiborne 1860:53-4].

The prophets... ordered execution for all Indians who refused to join them. They also demanded that their followers rid themselves of everything that they had ever received from the whites. In addition to destroying their property the Red Sticks abandoned many of their corn crops and killed and dried all of their cattle for use during the war. They considered farming a trick of the white man's civilization and thought that they could live by hunting [Owsley 1971:196].

Clearly, the Tecumseh movement contained in it the hope of military defeat of the white man. At the same time, the Indians could magically return to the former condition of economic and political autonomy by rejecting the trade goods upon which they had become so dependent. Nonetheless, it should be noted there was the practical measure of using European-derived cattle as provisions for the forthcoming war.

The British, who were about to be at war with the Americans, apparently were contributing to the discontent of some elements of the Creeks (Niles Weekly Register, October 13, 1812:155). Chiefs of some of the larger towns of the Lower Creeks apparently were making a concerted effort to preserve friendship with the United States (Ibid.). On the 5th of December, 1812, Colonel Gaines of the U.S. Army, writing from Tennessee, was of the opinion that the Lower Creeks would remain at peace if there was not a strong foreign influence, specifically by the British from West Florida (Niles Weekly Register, December 5, 1812:216). Although it was not clear

how the sides would be drawn, little would be needed in this explosive situation to precipitate a showdown between those Creeks who were economically and politically indebted to Hawkins and the U.S. Government generally, and those who felt themselves to be dispossessed and hemmed in on all sides. The event came in the killing of a white man, Arthur Lott, in May of 1812 by Indians who were part of the disenfranchised Tallassees group. At the same time, other isolated incidences of aggression against the whites were being committed. Under provisions of resolutions of the Creek national convention which Hawkins had encouraged in 1799, the agent took action to exact justice (Woodward 1859:35-37):

So soon as Col. Hawkins learned that Lott was murdered, he sent Christian Limbo, a German, to Cowetaw, to see Billy McIntosh, a half-breed chief. From Cowetaw, Limbo and McIntosh went to Thleacatska or Broken-arrow, to see Little Prince. The Prince was too old for active service, and sent a well-known half-breed, George Lovet, who was also a chief. Lovet took with him some Cussetas and McIntosh some Cowetas, and accompanied Limbo to Tuckabatchy to see the Big Warrior. He placed some Tuckabatchys under a chief called Emutta and the celebrated John McQueen, a negro, and all under the control of McIntosh, went in pursuit of the murderers. They found them on the Notasulga creek... where they shot the leaders and returned to their respective towns. This act aroused the Tallassees, and James McQueen, who had controlled them for 95 years having died the year before, his influence was lost, and from talks made some time before by Tecumseh ... and Seekaboo... a number of the young warriors and a few old ones had become restless. Not long after Lott was killed, an old gentleman named Merideth was killed at the crossing on Catoma Creek... This was done by the Otisees, in a drunken spree. The Big Warrior undertook to have them punished, but failed to do so, and in attempting to arrest them an Otisee was killed. A few days after this, the Otisees attacked a party of Tuckabatchys under the chief Emutta, at ...Polecat Springs, which was then occupied by Nimrod Doyle. * * * About

this time, or a little after, a chief, Tustunuggachee or Little Warrior, and a Coowersortda Indian, know as Capt. Isaacs, who had gone north-west with Tecumseh, were returning to the Creek nation, and learned from some Chickasaws that the Creeks had gone to war. Relying on this information, the Little Warrior's party did some mischief on the frontier of Tennessee as well as killed a few persons. On their return to the nation they found that war had not actually broken out, but only the few little depredations... mentioned, had been committed. The Coowersortda Indians, Capt. Sam Isaacs, (a name borrowed from an old trader...) gave the Big Warrior information about the murders in Tennessee. Isaacs from his tricks and management and having Alexander McGillivray's daughter for a wife, was let out of the scrape; but the Little Warrior being a Hickory-Ground Indian, set the Coosa Indians at variance with the Big Warrior. After this the Tuckabatchys, Ninny-pask-ulgees, or Road Indians, the Chunnanuggees and Conaligas all fortified in, at Tuckabatchy, to defend themselves from those that had turned hostile.

Clearly this was simply not a war between Upper and Lower towns, for as Swanton concluded (1928a:323), "a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles." Although the alignment of towns and elements of towns is not entirely clear, it would seem that at the very least the principal towns of both the Upper and Lower Creeks, i.e., Tuckabahchee and Coweta, officially remained aloof from the conflict (West 1940:250ff.). However it may have begun, apparently by mid-1813, the hostile Creeks were receiving active support from the British out of Pensacola and were ready to attack those most remote American settlements in the Creek Nation along the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers, as can be seen in the following excerpt from a letter from General Claiborne to the Governor of Georgia (Ibid.:263-5):

...McQueen, who appears to be a leading man with the unfriendly Creeks, ... went to Pensacola, with a party of about three hundred Indians, who were going there to procure powder and other warlike stores from the Governor of that place.[p.2] Immediately upon receipt of this intelligence two gentlemen were dispatched to Pensacola to ascertain whether the Governor of that place would furnish munitions of war to the Indians, and also to discover their intentions towards us. Their report was that the Governor had supplied them with a considerable quantity of powder, lead Flints &c., and that the Indians did not hesitate to declare openly at all times that their objects were hostile to the Whites, and that they were determined to attack and destroy the settlements of Tombigby and Alabama... From the information which I have collected there can be no doubt that the Civil [p.3] War between the Creeks has originated with the British in Canada. It is stated to me by some of the most intelligent half Breeds that the little Warrior who had been with the British army in Canada had written orders from the commander in that quarter, to the governor at Pensacola to furnish the Indians with whatever arms & ammunition they might require. These orders, when the little warrior was killed fell into the hands of McQueen and upon them there is no doubt but he was supplied. ...The best mode of fighting Indians is to penetrate into the heart of their settlements and to give them battle at the threshold of their doors.

The plight of those chiefs who remained friendly to Hawkins and sought to honor their agreements with him are made clear in this following account from the Milledgeville Journal, of July 14, 1813 (Niles Weekly Register, August 21, 1813:400-1):

I had the pleasure of being present this day [5 July] when a chief sent as a runner from the friendly Indians at Tookaubatche, made this report to col. Hawkins. He was a man deservedly of high standing among his own people, and one of those doomed by the followers of the prophet for destruction. He said the difficulties of the friendly Indians continued to increase; nine of their people were murdered, one of them a woman, and that a chief was missing. Attempts had been made to settle their misunderstandings in a friendly way, and refused

by the adherents of the prophets. The chiefs repeated their desire to throw aside their war-sticks and war projects, but without effect. The answer was insulting and hostile... The old Tal-see king returned the answer. He boasted of his bows, his arrows, his war-clubs and his magical powers. The chiefs say they have brought themselves into their present difficulties and embarrassments, by their fidelity to their treaty stipulations with the United States. By giving satisfaction to the murders on the post road, on Duck river and Ohio, which it was the duty of the nation to do, they are placed in a war attitude by their opponents. By doing justice to the white people, they have incurred the resentment of a strong party in the nation, who threaten them with death. The work of death and destruction of houses and property has already commenced.

...they asked of Hawkins the aid of the white people. They were willing to pay for this aid, and pointed out the fund for it.* They were willing to pay all the expence (sic), though their white friends in aiding them will effectually aid themselves. "If we are destroyed before you aid us," said the chief, "you will have the work to do yourselves, which will be bloody and attended with difficulties, as you do not know as well as we do, the swamps and hiding places of these hatchers of mischief."

Col. Hawkins sent off a runner with an interpreter and four chiefs to those who had taken the prophet's talk, with this demand of explanation for their conduct... "I hear you have begun your war-dance, made your war-clubs, and are for war with the white people. What is this for? What injury have the white people done you? ... I have been long among you - my talks have been always for peace, and they have been the saving of your country. Are you going to divide your nation and to destroy it? Do you not know the prophet's talks will be the destruction of the Creeks and give joy to your enemies? ... I will never forgive the murders of white people or red people friendly to them. You threaten Kialijee, Tookaubatchee and Cowetau? What is this for?"

"Speak plain to me. I have ordered four great chiefs of Bussetau to carry this talk and bring your answer. We can settle things much better now than when you see me, with an army. I am now your friend - I shall then be your enemy. ... If the white man is safe in your land, you are safe. If the white man is in danger in your land, you are in danger; and war with the white people will be your ruin!"

A reply from the fanatic Indians we believe has not yet been received. Nor is it to be expected that words alone will avail much with a people in their situation. Being bent on mischief, they must taste the calamities of war and be made to drink deeply of the cup of affliction before they will return to their duty.

Our agent, Col. Hawkins, accompanied by M'Intosh, a celebrated Indian chief, had an interview with the governor the latter part of last week ...col. Hawkins requested...50 stand of arms and some ammunition to enable the friendly Indians to repel any attack that might be made by their opponents, till the aid which had been requested of gen. Pinckney be given them. By subsequent information we learn, that the civil war rages with increased fury.... if attacked by the whites, the Creeks....surrounded by thick settlements of whites, without a back country to fly to, must be destroyed. There is no hope or prospect of any thing else... Their affairs will be settled in a few weeks. Maj. gen. Pinkney has ordered 600 regulars (150 of them cavalry) into the country - the 3d U.S. reg. of infantry, perhaps the best in the service, with 1500 volunteers from Tennessee will enter on one side, while 2500 Georgians will attack them on the other. We hope they may relieve the friendly Indians, immediately, and command the restless spirits to peace without bloodshed. The war Creeks are said to have 2500 warriors - they have no great supplies of the munitions of war, that we hear of, and their number is, probably exaggerated.

* The Alabama lands, which are remarkably fertile.

In sum, the diffuse political and economic dissatisfactions of many Creeks crystalized in their following of the Tecumseh movement. On the other side, the determination of many chiefs to retain their recently established advantage with the Americans, by carrying out the stipulations of the new code of justice established by Hawkins, created an atmosphere in which it took little to provoke a "showdown." The prime target for the resentment of the hostile Creeks were those whites, and white sympathizers, in the heartland of

McGillivray's former area of control. Thus, following the white attack on Indians at Burnt Corn, when the frightened whites, and some mixed-bloods with them, huddled at Fort Mims near the Tensaw River, the Red Sticks precipitated a crisis by retaliating and attacking the fort, bringing forth American troops in full force. According to one account, the alignment of towns in this decisive event of the Creek War was as follows (Week 1857:247-248):

Thirteen towns, - Alabama, Columa, Wewauka, Ochebofa, Waukakoya, Hoithlewaula, Poosahatchee, Ecuahutke, Savanogga, Muclausa, Hookcha-cochee, Puckuntallahassee, and Pochusahatchee, furnished warriors for the expedition... against Fort Mims under the aegis of Hillis-hadjo, or Josiah Francis, and Siquista, prophets; and Peter McQueen, Hobo-hoithlee Micco, Jumper... and Weatherford... * * * The towns of Oakfuskee, Tallassee, and Autossee, "formed a front of observation," towards Coweta... to conceal the movement, and keep in check the friendly Indians.

The warriors enlisted were over a thousand in number. ... Fort Mims was selected because it was believed to contain the body of those who had engaged in the Battle of Burnt Corn.

Whatever may have been its initial causes, once the American troops had become involved and the British were actively supporting the hostiles (by 1814 there was even a report of Indians dressed in British uniforms [Niles Weekly Register August 4, 1814:53]), it was no longer possible for any of the Creeks to remain aloof from the war. The sides which an individual took did not necessarily reflect his individual sentiments, but often appeared dependent upon the contingencies of the moment. Those who had been compromised by Hawkins and the factory system remained loyal to the United States. Those who had been disadvantaged by the program of

civilization joined the hostiles. This meant that it was not simply a matter of savage cultural reactionaries against "civilized" Indians. Rather, it was a war of economic interests in which those Creeks who had come at last to see themselves as having forfeited their independence by their involvement in trade, with no further territories for expansion, and encouraged by the British and the Spanish, perceived that they had "everything to gain and nothing to lose" by fighting the Americans, particularly in the backwoods areas of southwestern Alabama. On the other hand, those Creeks who had allowed themselves to be co-opted, so to speak, albeit sometimes for noble motives, by the United States government were in the reverse position. Neither was it a war of mixed-bloods against full-bloods. For example, on the side friendly to the whites was the mixed-blood McIntosh, one of the most prominent chiefs recognized by Hawkins, but on the other side was the mixed-blood, William Weatherford. Weatherford's joining of the hostiles is "explained" in the following (Woodward 1859:92-93):

Gen. Jackson said to Weatherford, that he was astonished at a man of his good sense, and almost a white man, to take sides with an ignorant set of savages, and being led astray by men who professed to be prophets and gifted with a supernatural influence. And more than all, he had led the Indians and was one of the prime movers of the massacre at Fort Mimms. * * * Weatherford ... then said to the General, that much had been charged to him that he was innocent of, and that he believed as little in Indian or white prophets as any man living, and he regretted the unfortunate destruction of Fort Mimms... * * * He also said that if he had joined the whites it would have been attributed to cowardice and not thanked. And moreover, it was his object in joining the

Indians, that he thought he would in many instances be able to prevent them from committing depredations upon defenseless persons; and but for the mismanagement of those that had charge of the Fort, he would have succeeded, and said, "Now, sir, I have told the truth, if you think I deserve death, do as you please; I shall only beg for the protection of a starving parcel of women and children, and those ignorant men who have been led into the war by their Chiefs."

In the end, of course, even though supplied by the British from Pensacola -- and with the progress of the War of 1812, even this avenue of support was blocked -- the hostiles could not sustain themselves. They were surrounded on all sides by enemy forces comprised of both Americans and Indians, including the Choctaws, the Cherokees, and those Creeks who remained loyal to the United States. For those who could not escape to Florida, the hostile Creeks were no doubt literally starved into submission, as suggested by the first sentence of the following excerpt from a soldier's letter (Willcox 1816:5-6):

...we succeeded in burning Echanachaca, (or Beloved Ground) which was one of the principal towns of deposit for corn and treasure in the Creek nation. The Indians heard of our approach only in time to get their women and children across the river, when we attacked them. The town was defended by 120 Indians and Negroes. ...We killed 30 of them...

Echanachaca town was supposed to contain 150 or 200 houses, in which was secured the plunder taken at Fort Mimms; we also found... all the scalps which the Indians had taken... at Fort Mimms...

We also destroyed a small town called Putlala, (or Prophet's Town) which consisted of about 50 houses, and Weatherford's private plantation.

Indeed, its veracity notwithstanding, in June of 1814, a newspaper carried the following (Niles Weekly Register June 4, 1814:221):

Horrible Proposition. - It is said the Creek Indians lately held a council to determine whether they should, to save provisions, which are very scarce, put their women and children to death - and it was lost by three votes only.

Soon thereafter, some of the hostiles under McQueen and Francis, did manage to retreat into British territory near Pensacola (Niles Weekly Register June 27, 1814:297):

From the Milledgeville Journal of June 17. -- An express from colonel Hawkins... confirms the landing of the enemy in Florida. Several intelligent chiefs ... state... that "the British have taken possession of Pensacola, and given a large quantity of arms and ammunition to the Seminoles... and that a number of the Indians, chiefly Seminoles and Red Clubs, have joined them, to whom a British officer delivered the following talk:

"I am sent to see if the Indians were destroyed in their war with the United States - if not, to afford them help. I have some supplies, and I will give each town four large casks of powder and some short muskets." * * *

The prophets observed to the Seminoles... - "we have brought our difficulties on ourselves, without advice from anyone - the old chiefs need not expect we will be given up. We have friends now, and if they attempt to follow us, we will spill their blood. We have lost our country and retreated to the sea side, where we will fight till we are all destroyed - we are collected and find a few more than a thousand warriors left."

It is stated in another report, that the enemy's force does not exceed a thousand - that all the troops, with the exception of fifty, had left the island, but were to return in twenty days - and that only two towns had received ammunition, the rest refusing to take it.

Colonel Hawkins observes in a letter of the 15th to the governor... that "M'Queen and Francis had delivered themselves as prisoners to colonel Milton. Several hundred of the deluded followers of the prophets have also surrendered themselves at our military posts, and are fed by order of government." ...

(A letter to the editor of the Register, from an intelligent friend in the south... assures me that the "Creek war is done." It seems the few stragglers that remain hostile, are of themselves, to [sic] weak to attempt any thing; and the country is too much exhausted to support a regular hostile force.)

Another newspaper article of the time, however, reported that McQueen and Francis had not surrendered (Niles Weekly Register July 23, 1814:353).

Following Jackson's decisive victory over the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend, the war officially concluded with the treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814 (proclaimed in 1815). In that treaty a number of chiefs, many of them "friendly," ceded not only large tracts of lands occupied by hostiles, but much of that of the Creeks loyal to the U.S. as well. Shortly thereafter, the United States took possession of Florida and there continued the wars with hostile elements of the Creeks, which soon became the Seminole Wars. To the north, the Creeks were contained and largely subdued, although sporadic hostilities continued into the 1830's. Very quickly the United States government obtained control over the Creeks remaining in Alabama and Georgia. Later, with the complicity of chiefs such as William McIntosh (Featherstonhaugh 1844:149), the United States obtained cessions of the remaining Creek lands in the east. By the late 1830's, with the exception of a few isolated allottees, the U.S. had removed the Creeks to Oklahoma.

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Chapter VII: Summary of Conclusions and Interpretation

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Creek Indians were transformed from a loose confederation of culturally related chiefdoms to a common subject people of the United States. This study has attempted to identify and delineate the major dynamics of change underlying that transformation. In addition, an effort has been made to document in some detail the historical progression of events by which these dynamics were manifest over time. In doing so, we also have suggested the outlines of an analytical framework in which the actions of different elements of the Creek Nation preceding and during the Creek War of 1813-14 might be understood as adaptational responses to the ecological, economic, and political pressures of the time. Further research is necessary to verify, document, and elaborate the processes we have tentatively identified; however, the interpretation offered here is consistent with the historical record and, more importantly, suggests avenues for research in which anthropological and ethnohistorical problems may be defined with greater precision.

The analysis presented in Chapter I indicates that population pressure may have been one of the most basic of forces for social change operating on the Creek social

system during the period of this study. The quality of the available demographic data is uncertain; however, even a conservative appraisal would suggest strongly that the Creek Indians were experiencing considerable population growth during the several decades before the Creek War. Although it would be difficult to demonstrate the causes of this increase, we offer three possible explanations. If it is assumed that through initial, transitory contacts with Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Creeks were exposed to lethal exotic diseases, the eighteenth century population increase could be seen as a period of demographic recovery following successful genetic adaptation by the Creek population. Secondly, the introduction of firearms, iron hoes, and other European tools may have had an initial beneficial effect on the ecological adaptation of the Creeks, improving efficiency in the use of available food resources. Finally, the increase in Creek population might also have been a result of the incorporation of other individuals and groups displaced by white settlement of the territory surrounding the Creeks. All of these factors could have played a role in the demographic growth of the Creeks.

Whatever the cause, or causes, growth of the Creek population would have placed an increased burden on the subsistence system. Such a demand would have been further complicated by the gradual constriction of the Creek land base resulting from white settlement and the cession of lands to whites under economic and political pressure. Once the Creeks

became dependent upon trade goods, the population problem would have been further exacerbated by the increasing costs of the items for which the Creeks traded skins.

Initially, Creek involvement in trade with whites was presumably beneficial to the Indians. The acquisition of guns, cloth, knives, and metal containers probably increased the effectiveness of the Creeks' exploitation of their environment, as well as being work-saving devices in their own right. However, as we have suggested, trade may have had an early deleterious effect on the horticultural sector of the Creek economy. In the end, the Creeks became so indebted to white traders that trade became a direct instrument for the seizure of additional Creek lands through the device of forcing cessions of land to satisfy debts.

The United States government attempted to break the cycle of Creek peonage to private traders -- particularly those connected with the British, by establishing the Factory System and through Hawkins' "civilization" program. These efforts were only modestly successful. The records suggest that these U.S. efforts met with most success among those Creeks who were in closest proximity to United States installations and who were already beginning to feel the "pinch" of a declining peltry market. Probably, these were also the groups in most direct competition with whites and which had had a longer history of intensive white trade. All the Lower Creek towns were in this situation, but many of the Upper towns were as well. Nonetheless, resistance, or at least

non-acceptance, characterized many of the Creeks' response to these government programs. It seems reasonable to assume that the strongest resistance came from those Creeks most removed from the areas of U.S. influence, namely, those in western Alabama. These were also the Creeks who were most accessible to British influence from Florida, in part as a result of the McGillivray-Panton alliance of a decade earlier. Whether they recognized it or not, with the benefit of hindsight, it would appear that those Creeks who did accept the U.S. programs of the 1790's and early 1800's were merely exchanging economic bondage for political tutelage. Nonetheless, for many Creeks the period of Hawkins' early administration was one in which commercial hunting remained a viable occupation, even if not as lucrative as it once had been. Moreover, livestock, whether domesticated or free-ranging, provided an additional resource for sustaining the new, less-settled way of life which trade and commercial hunting had stimulated initially in the mid-eighteenth century.

At first, relations between the Creeks and the Europeans, and later the Americans, took the form of a mutually rewarding "business" relationship -- skins for trade goods. However, as the purchasing power of the Creeks dwindled, the Americans became more desirous of land than hides, and the United States became increasingly concerned with maintaining its own autonomy as a fledgling nation, the two peoples were at an impasse which could not be resolved through previous patterns of mutual accommodation. The United States could not tolerate

within its borders a decentralized, and thus uncontrollable, mini-power potentially aligned with their own former colonial masters, the British. For their part the Creeks were fast approaching the limits of the economic boom which white trade initially had been. Since the Creeks were hemmed in on all sides by other Indians and whites, "flight" was not a viable solution to their problems. Soon, the only solutions available would be either "to fight 'em or join 'em."

The acceptance or rejection of the Factory System and the "civilization" program in part depended on political factors. McGillivray appears to have advanced the principle of legitimization of authority through the control of trade, as well as prowess in warfare. Indirectly, the United States government contributed to the same development by distributing annuities to recognized local leaders and negotiating with them for lands and other rights. So, whether allied with Hawkins and the factories or with the British and the Pensacola trading houses, Creek leaders seem to have been basing their appeals to authority on the same principles of control of access to white goods and connections with powerful whites. Which side Creek leaders took seems to have been largely a matter of geography and historical accident. However, one important difference between the two factions lay in the control of physical force. Largely as a result of McGillivray's influence, encouraged by the British and the Spanish, one faction of the Creeks became increasingly militaristic in their political life, while the chiefs allied

with Hawkins were willing to concede the use of physical force to the United States authorities in return for whatever economic and political benefits they might enjoy.

Meanwhile, traditional bases of authority and legitimacy, and thus political stability, were being eroded by external influences. Although experience in warfare had been the primary vehicle to political prominence in the traditional Creek social structure, this military principle of the native authority structure was balanced by civil authority based on the control of the communal resources of the town. The tendency toward the dispersal of towns, stimulated by hunting and reliance upon livestock, which was explicitly encouraged by agents of the United States, probably had the effect of undermining the traditional, horticulturally predicated politico-religious institutions of the Creeks. More importantly, the United States government continued efforts to eliminate the principle of clan revenge, and perhaps secondarily such developments as McGillivray's institution of a personal court, struck at the very foundation of the native authority system. Thus, restraints derived from corporate kin institutions, and the structure of town governments as well, tended to be undercut by the increasing support which the U.S. was giving to a strong, centralized Creek National Assembly. Kinship institutions may have continued to have been important in the regulation of marriage and in the internal control of their members, but even here, as Eggan (1966) has shown, acculturative

pressure eventually caused a radical shift even in Creek kinship nomenclature, away from a terminological system consistent with matrilineal institutions and toward a system like that of whites. In sum, the traditional kinship bases of legitimate authority tended to be invalidated through direct manipulation of Creek law by United States officials, leaving individualistic tendencies toward political aggrandizement unchecked and perverting the existing militaristic tensions in Creek political life.

Ironically, pacification by external powers and the practical necessity of maintaining peace for purposes of trade tended to close off opportunities for political advancement through military channels. Thus, many ambitious young Creeks probably were willing subjects for any appeal to military solutions to the growing problems of the Creeks. Conversely, those chiefs who had opted for the military and political backing of the United States as the basis for their authority and influence had strong incentive to resist any warring tendencies of their people. Desiring to contain and neutralize the potential power of the Creeks as a military power in their own right, or as British allies, the United States government appears to have done much to bolster the scope of the Creek confederacy and transformed it into the Creek Nation under a system of indirect control through "classification" of towns and paid chiefs. Given that originally the Creek confederacy was rather loose-knit and lacking in control over the member towns, describing the events

of 1811-1813 as a "civil war" presumes that the Creek Nation had legitimate authority over all the Creeks and their towns. It is questionable that many of the Creeks had ever conceded such authority to the Nation in the first place.

During the late 1790's and early 1800's the economic situation for the Creeks was worsening to the point that it was no longer possible for any of the Indians to avoid the reality of their dependence on trade goods and their dwindling buying power. Immediately following 1800 there appears to have been a sharp rise in Upper Creek population, and a decline in that of the Lower Creeks (See Appendix A), prices for goods were escalating, increasing numbers of whites were penetrating Creek territory, and the supply of game may very well have declined as more and more hides were required to purchase goods. As Hawkins had done before him, Tecumseh attempted to break the cycle of dependency. Tecumseh and his Creek prophets, however, sought a magical and military solution to the problem, drawing their "Red Stick" followers from those who benefitted least from the Factory System and were least compromised by Hawkins' program.

In the end, neither Hawkins nor Tecumseh, the United States government nor the Red Sticks solved the problems of the Creeks. However, when the two "programs" clashed in the hostilities inspired by Tecumseh and efforts by the Nation and the ^{"official"} ~~United States~~ chiefs to assert their hegemony over all the Creeks, the United States was handed the rationale to use troops to defeat the Creeks and seize their lands under

reparation stipulations of treaties. Although the trading economy lingered on following the Creek War, it was only a matter of time before the continuing indebtedness of the Creeks and the firm domination of their political life by the United States left the Indians economically, politically, and militarily powerless to resist their removal to Oklahoma. Hostile and Friendly alike were no longer useful to the growing American nation. A few remained in the East presumably to become assimilated as private citizens, but the Creek Nation as a political body was allowed to exist only under close supervision of the United States government, far from their former domain.

The foregoing interpretation would require much more research to be fully supported or rejected. In particular, the ecology of the region during the late 1700's - early 1800's must be studied in more detail; further analyses of the political structure of the Creek confederacy, Nation, and specific towns are needed; and more exacting examination of the particulars of Creek relations with both United States agents and private trading houses are required. Nevertheless, this interpretation has suggested the broad outlines of social change processes within which the significance of specific historic events can be brought into focus.

At times our analysis may have seemed overly materialistic. However, the reevaluation of source materials necessary for this study clearly suggests that "cultural" explanations for the complexities of Creek history have been overdrawn

and, in particular, acculturative differences between Upper and Lower Creeks have been exaggerated. Indeed, we would argue that purely cultural differences became a problem only late in Creek-white relations, after the Creeks lost their economic usefulness to the Americans but the Indians still constituted a potential military threat. Even then cultural conflicts, as opposed to social conflicts, were incidental and indirect consequences of efforts of agents of the United States to exercise economic and political control over the Creeks.

Admittedly, in our analysis and interpretation we sometimes have expressed our arguments in almost faddish, contemporary social science terms. This has been done intentionally to highlight the fact that from an anthropological point of view, the Creek War of 1813-14 and the developments surrounding it must be understood not only as an historically unique set of events, but also as an expression of the operation of general principles of economic, political, and social change which are not bound to any particular time or place.

Appendix A: Statistical Reconstruction
of Creek Population -- 1738-1832
by
Kenneth J. Plante

Table V presents an alternative interpretation of the basic warrior/men census data compiled by Swanton (1922: 436-443), also incorporating the Atkin census of 1755. Rather than use a straight multiple of 3.5 to determine the overall population, it is felt that a more accurate projection may be ascertained by using a multiple of 4 or 3.5, depending upon the nature of the raw data. Then multiplying the resulting population by a factor to correct for the marked differences from one census to another in the number of towns/villages enumerated.

As noted in Footnote 1, Chapter I (page 10), Swan (1855: 263) speculated that the "useless old men, the women and children may be reckoned as three times the number of gun-men," which is indicative of a 4:1 ratio of gunmen to the overall population. Thus, whenever census figures are based upon numbers of gun-men, hunters, or warriors, a multiple of 4 is used to determine the overall population. "Men," however, is interpreted as including "useless old men" (Ibid.) as well as adolescent males who contribute to the overall subsistence pattern of the village, but who have yet to display their

courage and physical prowess in battle, and thus have yet to be formally recognized as "warriors." This group would represent a considerably larger proportion of the population, and a ratio of 3.5:1 (men:total population) is considered to be a fairly reasonable estimate.

The disparity between the various censuses in the number of towns recorded can be somewhat rectified by the use of a correction factor based upon the ratio of towns enumerated to the probable number of towns existing at the time of the census. To obtain this, each town as listed by Swanton (1922:434-437) was screened for its appearance in the census data through time. Thus, for example, a town included in the censuses of 1761 and 1792 but not mentioned by Taitt in 1792, is presumed to have been in existence in 1792, and is included in the "probable number of towns" figure. On the other hand, a town noted in 1761 but never again mentioned is presumed to have disbanded or moved soon thereafter, and thus is not included in the "probable" total. The town correction factor is unique to each census period.

The graphs and Table VI, following Table V, reveal sharp increases in Creek population during the period 1780-1813. This rapid increase in population and the accompanying decrease in available land is considered to be one of the principle causes of the Creek War of 1813-14.

Table V: Creek Population Estimates for 1738-1832

	Spanish census of 1738 (men)	French census of 1750 (men)	Atkins 1755 (men)	Census of 1760 (men)	Census of 1761 (hunters)	Talbot 1772 (run-men)	Harbury 1792 (men)	Hawkins 1799 (run-men)	U.S. Census of 1832 (souls)
<u>Upper Towns:</u>									
Census data	1306	865	1365 ²	2575	1390	715	2500	1111	14,325
Population multiple	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	4	4	3.5	4	-
Population estimate	4571	3028	4778	9013	5560	2860	8750	4444	14,325
No. of towns enumerated	19	27	-	33	28	13	35	11	42
Probable no. of towns in existence	19	27	-	34	33	30	37	34	42
Town correction factor	1	1	-	1.03	1.18	2.31	1.06	3.09	1
Est. total population	4571	3028	4778	9286	6553	6600	9250	13,736	14,325
<u>Lower Towns:</u>									
Census data	757	398	1200 ²	1030	770	470	1105	430	7408
Population multiple	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	4	4	3.5	4	-
Population estimate	2650	1393	4200	3605	3080	1880	3868	1720	-
No. of towns enumerated	14	12	-	12	13	4	6	2	10
Probable no. of towns in existence	14	12	-	12	13	10	10	10	10
Town correction factor	1	1	-	1	1	2.5	1.67	5	-
Est. total population	2650	1393	4200	3605	3080	4700	6447	8600	7408
Total Population:	7221	4423	8978	12,891	9633	11,300	15,697	22,336	21,733

¹ Population figures drawn from Swanton (1922:434-437) unless otherwise indicated.² Jacobs (1954:43)

Chart II: Population Projection for the Creek Nation 1738-1832

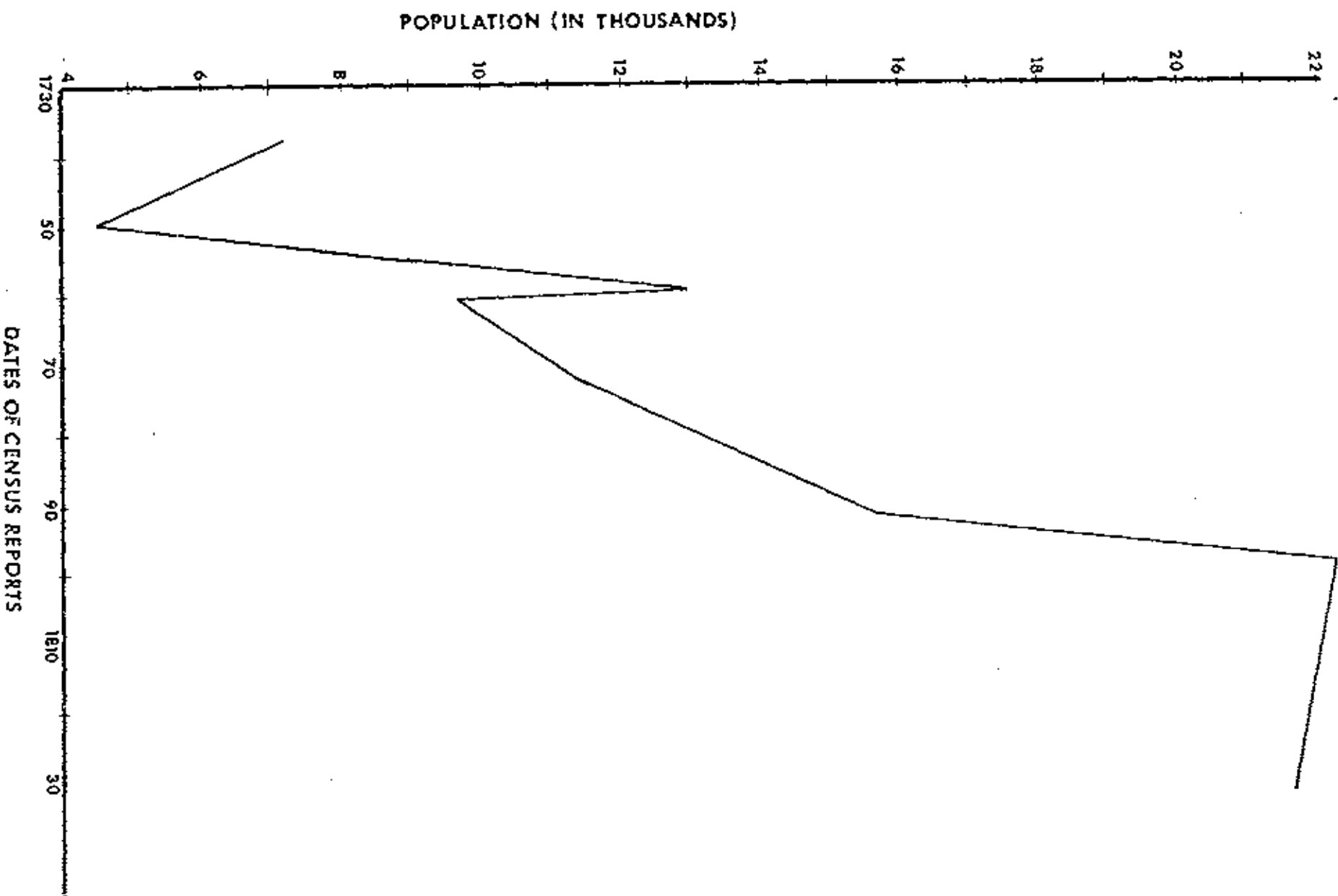


Table VI: Population Estimate for the Creek Confederacy for the
Period Immediately Preceding the Creek War
of 1813-14 Using a Regression (Least-Squares) Line

Upper towns:

<u>x</u>	<u>y</u>	<u>x'</u> <u>(x-1760)</u>	<u>y'</u> <u>(y-10,000)</u>	<u>x'²</u>	<u>x'y'</u>
1738	4571	-22	-5429	484	119,438
1750	3028	-10	-6972	100	69,720
1755	4778	-5	-5220	25	26,110
1760	9286	0	-714	0	0
1761	6553	1	-3447	1	-3,447
1772	6600	12	-3400	144	-40,800
1792	9250	32	-750	1024	-24,000
1799	13736	39	3760	1521	145,704
1832	21753	72	11733	5184	844,776
		$\Sigma: 119$	10465	8483	1,140,948

$$n = 9$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 b &= \frac{[\Sigma xy - \frac{(\Sigma x)(\Sigma y)}{n}]}{[\Sigma x^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x)^2}{n}]} \\
 &= \frac{[1140948 - (119)(10465)/9]}{[8483 - (119)^2/9]} \\
 &= \frac{[1140948 - 138370.55]}{[8483 - 1573.44]} \\
 &= 1002577.5/6909.56 \\
 &= 145.10
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\bar{x} = \frac{119}{9} = 13.22$$

$$\bar{y} = \frac{10465}{9} = 1162.78$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 \hat{y}_j &= bx_j + (\bar{y} - b\bar{x}) \\
 &= (145.10)x_j + 1162.78 - (145.10)(13.22) \\
 &= (145.10)x_j + (1162.78 - 1918.22) \\
 &= (145.10)x_j - 755.44
 \end{aligned}$$

Thus for the year 1813 we have:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \hat{y}_j &= (145.10)(53) - 755.44 \\
 &= 6934.86 \\
 &= 6935 + 10,000 \\
 &= \underline{\underline{16,935}}
 \end{aligned}$$

Table VI (cont.):

Lower towns:

<u>x</u>	<u>y</u>	<u>x'</u> <u>(x-1760)</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>x'y</u>
1738	2650	-22	484	-58,300
1750	1393	-10	100	-13,930
1755	4200	-5	25	-21,000
1760	3605	0	0	0
1761	3080	1	1	3,080
1772	4700	12	144	56,400
1792	6447	32	1024	206,304
1799	8600	39	1521	335,400
1832	7408	72	5184	533,376
	<u>Σ: 42083</u>	<u>119</u>	<u>8483</u>	<u>1,041,330</u>

$$n = 9$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 b &= \left[\Sigma xy - \frac{(\Sigma x)(\Sigma y)}{n} \right] / \left[\Sigma x^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x)^2}{n} \right] \\
 &= [1041330 - (119)(42083)/9] / [8483 - (119)^2/9] \\
 &= [1041330 - 556430.77] / [8483 - 1573.44] \\
 &= 484899.3/6909.56 \\
 &= 70.178
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\bar{x} = \frac{119}{9} = 13.22$$

$$\bar{y} = \frac{42083}{9} = 4675.89$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 \hat{y}_j &= bx_j + (\bar{y} - b\bar{x}) \\
 &= (70.178)x_j + 4675.89 - (70.178)(13.22) \\
 &= (70.178)x_j + (4675.89 - 927.753) \\
 &= (70.178)x_j + 3747.247
 \end{aligned}$$

Thus for the year 1813 we have:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \hat{y}_j &= (70.178)(53) + 3747.247 \\
 &= 7466.681 \\
 &= \underline{\underline{7467}}
 \end{aligned}$$

Thus we have a total Creek population of:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &\text{Upper: } 16,935 \\
 &\text{Lower: } \underline{\underline{7,467}} \\
 &\quad \underline{\underline{24,402}}
 \end{aligned}$$

Now, using the 1:4 ratio of gun-men or warriors to the total population, we can estimate the number of available warriors at the outbreak of the Creek War to have been 6,100.

Appendix B: A Brief Chronological
Outline of Important Events in
Creek Indian History - 1685-1833

1685

Traders from Charleston ventured into the Creek territory, bringing with them a "wealth of commodities that the Creeks had never known to exchange for things for which the Creeks had hitherto had no market" (Cotterill 1954:16).

1702

Creeks furnish Carolinians a force of 500 warriors to stop a Spanish advance on the Flint River.

1704

Jan: Creeks send an army of 1000 into Florida and completely destroyed the Apalachee province.

1705

Aug: Formal alliance formed by the Creeks with the province of Carolina.

1714

Fort Toulouse established; Capt. Marchand in command.

1715

Carolina "disciplined the private leaders by forbidding private trade and... substituted for it a system of public stores on the Savannah, to which the Indians were invited to bring their peltry for exchange" (Cotterill 1954:21).

1716

Creeks moved their Ocmulgee towns to "their old positions on the Chattahoochee River in supporting nearness to the main Muscogee body in Alabama. Gathering around them there and on the Flint the Hitchitee people of southern Georgia and the Euchee people who had moved down from the Tennessee, they perfected from these discordant elements in combination with the Choctaw Alabamas, and the Upper Muscogees that union thereafter called the Creek Confederation" (Cotterill 1954:21).

1717

Nov: A "peace" negotiated with Carolina designating the Savannah River as the Creek-Carolina boundary.

1722

Capt. Marchand killed at Fort Toulouse.

1733

Georgia settled as a British colony.

May: Creeks met with Oglethorpe in Coweta, agreed on rates of exchange for trade, and "gave him title to a restricted tract of land on the lower Savannah" (Ibid.:25).

1735

Lachlan McGillivray arrived in Carolina from Scotland.

1738

War of Jenkin's Ear

1739-41

Creek-Choctaw War

1745

Lachlan McGillivray married Sehoy Marchand

1763

Alabamas removed their towns to the Tombigbee valley

France ceded to Great Britain all land claims east of the Mississippi; Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain.

7 Oct: England decreed Florida should be formed into two governments, calling the provinces East and West Florida

Nov: The Southern tribes ended their participation in the French and Indian War "in a peace conference at Augusta, Georgia, where ... the Creeks, mostly from the Lower Towns, ceded to the British their lands east of a line beginning on the lower Savannah and running obliquely across the Ogeechee to the Altamaha" (Ibid.:32-33).

1764

Feb: Capt. George Johnstone first British governor of Florida

1772

Hon. Peter Chester assumed role as governor of the province of West Florida, succeeding the Hon. Montforte Brown who had in turn relieved Gov. Elliot, successor of Johnstone.

1773

1 June: "...Cherokees and Creeks... assembled at Augusta, at the instance of Sir James Wright, the governor, and John Stuart, superintendent of Indian Affairs ... to cede land to compensate George Galphin for debts due" (Pickett 1851:II:13-14).

1774

Creeks attacked Sherrill's Fort and killed seven people

1776

1 May: Creek delegation met with American commissioners at Augusta, "where they were impartured by George Galphin to stay out of the war [American Revolution], to rely on the Americans for trade, and to expel the British agents from the nation" (Cotterill 1954:41).

British appointed Alexander McGillivray as assistant commissary.

1777

William Bartram traveled through Southeastern U.S.

American settlements on the Mobile and Tensaw Rivers as far north as the Tombigbee

1780

14 Mar: Mobile surrendered (British) to the Spanish

1782

Lachlan McGillivray returned to Scotland, leaving wife Sehoy and children in Alabama.

1783

20 Jan: Great Britain warranted and confirmed to Spain the province of West Florida, and ceded to her East Florida

1784

Alexander McGillivray made treaty with Spain as "Emperor of the Creeks"

1785

Border clashes between Creeks and Georgians,
fomented by the Spanish

Spanish admit Panton, Leslie and Company into
Pensacola

28 Oct: Meeting at Galphinton between members of Congress
and Creeks - only two town chiefs and 60 warriors
showed up

Dec: Georgia Legislature established a county called
Houston (modern Alabama counties of Lauderdale,
Jackson, Limestone and Madison.)

1788

Richard Winn appointed Indian superintendent

1789

Meeting at Rock Landing with commissioners from
Washington

Dec: Gov. Telfair of Georgia approved first Yazoo sale

1790

7 Aug: Treaty of New York, whereat the boundaries of
the Creek nation were established as:
"Beginning where the old line strikes
the river Savannah; thence up the said
river to a place on the most northern
branch of the same, commonly called the
Keowee, where a N.E. line to be drawn from
the top of the Ocenna mountain shall
intersect; thence along the said line in
a S.W. direction to Tugelo river; thence
to the top of the Currabee mountain;
thence to the source of the main south
branch of the Oconee river, called the
Appalachee; thence down the middle of said
main south branch and river Oconee to its
confluences with the Oakmulgee, which form
the Altamaha; and thence down the middle of
the Altamaha to the old line on the said
river, and thence along the said line to

river St. Mary's.
The Creeks cede all claim N. and E. of the
foregoing boundaries." (Royce 1899:652)

1791

McGillivray appointed Superintendent of Creek
Nation by Spain, with an annual salary of \$2,000.

End of first Yazoo sale

1792

July: McGillivray's salary increased to \$3,500.

1793

17 Feb: McGillivray died at Pensacola

Mar: The Chehaw Creeks, instigated by William Burgess,
a trader with Spanish interests, plundered the store
of Robert Seagrove, killing four whites.

Apr: George Washington authorized Gov. Telfair of
Georgia to enlist a few companies of militia for
the protection of Georgia from Creek depredations.

Sep: Georgians destroy Little Oakfuskee

17 Oct: Clash between Gen. Sevier and Creeks at Etowah

Nov: Meeting of Seagrove with Creeks at Tuckabahchee

1794

July: Forts Advance and Defiance established by Elijah
Clarke

1795

U.S. Factory established at Colerain

1796

Feb: As a result of the second Yazoo sale hundreds of people emigrated to the Tombigby and Mississippi.

29 June: Treaty at Colerain, Georgia.

"By article 3 the Creeks concede to the U.S. the right to establish a trading or military post on the S. side of the Altamaha river, on the bluff about 1 mile above Beard's bluff, or anywhere lower down the river, and to annex thereto a tract of land 5 miles square, bordering on one side on the the river.

By article 4 the Creeks conceded a general right to the U.S. to establish necessary military or trading posts within their territory, with reservations of 5 miles square of land attached with the stipulation that whenever any of the posts shall be abandoned the land shall revert to the Indians." (Ibid.:658)

1797

U.S. Factory moved to Fort Wilkinson

1798

Congress created Mississippi Territory with capital at Natchez; West Florida became part of the Mississippi Territory

1799

May: Lt. McLeary took possession of old Fort St. Stephens on the Tombigbee from Spain.

July: Fort Stoddard established three miles below union of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers

Aug: Indians stop the marking of the U.S. boundary with Spanish Florida

1801

Population along the Tombigbee River: 750 (500 whites, the remaining 250 assumed to be slaves; the Indian population was not accurately recorded)

1802

16 June: Treaty at Fort Wilkinson, Georgia by which "The Creeks agreed cede to the U.S. all land between the following bounds and the lines of the extinguished claims of said nation heretofore ascertained and established by treaty: Beginning at the upper extremity of the high shoals of the Appalachee river, the same being a branch of the Oconee river, and on the southern bank of the same, running thence a direct course to a noted ford of the S. branch of Little river, called by the Indians Chattochneeohatchee; thence a direct line to the main branch of Commissioner's creek where the same is intersected by the path leading from the Rock landing to the Ocmulgee Old Towns; thence a direct line to Palmetto creek, where the same is intersected by the Uchee path leading from the Oconee to the Ocmulgee river; thence down the middle waters of the said creek to Oconee river, and with the western bank of the same to its junction with the Ocmulgee river; thence across the Ocmulgee river to the S. bank of the Altamaha river, and down the same at low-water mark to the lower bank of Goose creek, and from thence by a direct line to the mounts on the margin of the Oketinocan swamp, raised and established by the Commissioners of the U.S. and Spain at the head of St. Mary's river; thence down the middle waters of said river to the point where the old line of demarcation strikes the same; thence with the said old line to the Altamaha river and up the same to Goose creek." (Ibid.:660, 662).

Trading house established at St. Stephens.

1803

Louisiana Purchase

1804

By a supplementary Act of Congress, the tract of land south of Tennessee between Georgia on the east and Louisiana on the west was added to the Mississippi Territory.

1805

- 14 Nov: The Creeks signed a treaty agreeing to "cede to the U.S. all right to a certain tract between the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers, bounded as follows: Beginning at the High shoals of Apalacha, where the line of the treaty of Fort Wilkinson touches the same; thence running in a straight line to the mouth of Ulcofauhatche, it being the first large branch or fork of the Ocmulgee above the Seven islands, provided, however, that if the said line should strike the Ulcofauhatche at any place above its mouth, that it shall continue round with that stream so as to leave the whole of it on the Indian side; then the boundary to continue from the mouth of the Ulcofauhatche, by the water's edge of the Ocmulgee river, down to its junction with the Oconee; thence up the Oconee to the present boundary at Tauloohatchee creek; thence up said creek, and following the present boundary line, to the first-mentioned bounds, at the high shoals of Apalacha.
- From the foregoing cession the Creek reserve a tract 5 miles in length and 3 in breadth, and bounded as follows: Beginning on the eastern shore of Ocmulgee river, at a point 3 miles on a straight line above the mouth of a creek called Oakeboncoolgau, which empties into the Ocmulgee near the lower part of what is called the Old Ocmulgee fields; thence running 3 miles eastwardly, on a course at right angles with the general course of the river for 5 miles below the point of beginning; thence from the end of the

3 miles to run 5 miles parallel with the said course of the river; thence westwardly at right angles with the last-mentioned line to the river, and by the river to the beginning.

Upon this tract the U.S. reserve the right to erect a military or trading post.

The Creek further agree that the U.S. shall have a right to a horse path through the Creek country, from the Ocmulgee to the Mobile, in such direction as the President shall consider most convenient. (Ibid.:670, 672)

1806

16 Oct: U.S. Factory moved to Fort Hawkins (Macon, Georgia)

1811

"Horse path of 1805 widened into a wagon path: "Lieutenant Luckett with a party of soldiers cut out a road, called the "Federal Road," through the Creek country, from a point on the Chattahoochee River to Mim's Ferry on the Alabama..." (Halbert and Ball 1895:3)

5 Aug: Tecumseh leaves Vincennes for the Creek country with 20 men

1812

26 Mar: Thomas Meredith murdered on the post road at Kittome

25 May: William Lott murdered. It was also reported that two families were massacred along the Duck River in Tennessee.

18 June: War declared between the United States and Great Britain

19 July: Indians who murdered Meredith caught and killed

1813

- 12 Feb: "By an act of Congress... General James Wilkinson ... authorized to proceed to Mobile, then held by Spaniards, and to take possession" (Ibid.:87). The Spanish departed on April 12 without resisting.
- 25 June: Prophet Francis with 300 hostile Creeks encamped at the Holy Ground.
- 28 June: General Fluornory ordered Brigadier-General T. L. Claiborne, with 600 Mississippi volunteers, to march from Baton Rouge to Mount Vernon, Alabama in order to defend the frontier from English, Spanish, or Indian attack.
- 27 July: Battle of Burnt Corn
- Aug: William Weatherford joins the "Red Sticks"
- 30 Aug: Massacre at Fort Mims
- 1 Sep: Kimball- James massacre
- 12 Sep: Fort Sinefield attacked
- Oct: Bashi skirmish
- 29 Oct: Engagement at Littafuchee
- 3 Nov: Battle of Tallasseehatchee
- 9 Nov: Battle of Talladega
- 18 Nov: Hillabee Massacre
- 23 Nov: Battle of Autossee
- 23 Dec: Holy Ground Campaign

1814

- 22 Jan: Battle of Emuckfau
- 24 Jan: Battle of Enitachopco
- 27 Jan: Calabee Valley Fight
- 27 Mar: Battle of Horseshoe Bend
- 9 Aug: Treaty of Fort Jackson. "The United States demand[ed] an equivalent for all expenses incurred in

prosecuting the war to its termination by a cession of all the territory belonging to the Creek nation, within the limits of the U.S., lying W., S., and southeastwardly of a line to be run as follows: Beginning at a point on the eastern bank of Coosa river, where the S. boundary line of the Cherokee nation crosses the same; thence down the Coosa river, with its eastern bank, to a point 1 mile above the mouth of Cedar creek at Fort Williams; thence E. 2 miles; thence S. 2 miles; thence W. to the eastern bank of Coosa river; thence down the eastern bank thereof to a point opposite the upper end of the great falls (called by the natives Wostumka); thence E. from a true meridian line to a point due N. of the mouth of Ofucshee, on the S. side of Tallapoosa river; thence up the same to a point where a direct course will cross the same at the distance of 10 miles from the mouth thereof; thence a direct line to the mouth of Summochico creek, which empties into the Chatahouchie river on the E. side, below the Eufaulau town; thence E. from a true meridian line to a point which shall intersect the line dividing the lands claimed by the Creek nation from those claimed and owned by the state of Georgia. If in running E. from the mouth of Summochico creek it shall happen that the settlement of the Kennards fall within the limits of this cession, then the line shall be run E. on a true meridian to Kitchofoonee creek; thence down the middle of the creek to its junction with Flint river, immediately below the Oakmulgee town; thence up the middle of Flint river to a point due E. of that at which the above line struck the Kitchofoonee creek; thence E. to the old line dividing the lands claimed by the Creeks from those claimed and owned by the state of Georgia.

The U.S. demand the right to establish military posts and trading houses and to open roads within the territory still retained by the Creeks.

Chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation who were friendly to the U.S. during the Creek war are each entitled to locate a reserve of 1 square mile, to include their improvements, as near the center as may

be of the tract first above ceded.
(Royce 1899:678)

1817

July: U.S. Factory moved to Fort Mitchell

1818

22 Jan: At the Creek Agency on the Flint River, the Creeks agreed to

"cede to the U.S. the following tract of land, viz: Beginning at the mouth of Goose creek, on the Alatamaha river; thence along the line leading to the mounts at the head of St. Mary's river to the point where it is intersected by the line run by the commissioners of the U.S. under the treaty of Fort Jackson; thence along the said last-mentioned line to a point where a line leaving the same shall run the nearest and a direct course by the head of a creek, called by the Indians Alcasalekie, to the Ocmulgee river; thence down the said Ocmulgee river to its junction with the Oconee, the two rivers there forming the Alatamahau; thence down the Alatamahau to the first-mentioned bounds at the mouth of Goose creek.

The Creeks also cede to the U.S. the following tract, viz: Beginning at the High shoals of the Appalachee river; thence along the line designated by the treaty of Nov. 14, 1815, to the Ulcofouhatchie, it being the first large branch or fork of the Ocmulgee above the Seven islands; thence up the eastern bank of the Ulcofouhatchie by the water's edge to where the path leading from the High shoals of the Appalachie to the Shallow ford on the Chatahoochie crosses the same, and from thence along the said path to the Shallow ford on the Chatahoochie river; thence up the Chatahoochie river, by the water's edge on the eastern side, to Suwannee Old Town; thence by a direct line to the head of Appalachie; and thence down the same to

the first-mentioned bounds at the High shoals of Appalachie. (Ibid., 688).

1821

18 Jan: Treaty at Indian Springs, Creek Nation, whereat the Creeks ceded

"to the U.S. the land east of the following boundaries, viz: Beginning on the E. Bank of Flint river where Jackson's line crosses, running thence up the eastern bank of the same along the water's edge to the head of the principal western branch; from thence the nearest and a direct line to the Chatahooche river, up the eastern bank of the said river, along the water's edge to the Shallow ford where the present boundary line between the state of Georgia and the Creek nation touches the said river, provided, however, that if the said line should strike the Chatahooche river below the Creek village Buzzard Roost, there shall be a set-off made, so as to leave the said village 1 mile within the Creek nation.

From the foregoing cession there is reserved to the Creek nation the following tracts:

1. One thousand acres to be laid off in a square, so as to include the Indian spring in the center thereof.
2. Six hundred and forty acres on the western bank of Oakmulgee river, so as to include the improvements at present in the possession of the Indian chief, General McIntosh.

It is also agreed that the title and possession of the following tracts of land shall continue in the Creek nation so long as the present occupants shall remain in personal possession thereof: One mile square each, to include as near as may be in the center thereof the improvements of Michey Barnard, James Barnard, Buckey Barnard, Cussena Barnard, and Efaumathlaw, on the E. side of Flint river, which reservations shall constitute a part of the cession made by the first article so soon as they shall be abandoned by the present

occupants.

It is also agreed that so long as the U.S. continue the Creek agency at its present situation on Flint river the land included within the following boundary, viz: Beginning on the E. bank of Flint river at the mouth of the Boggy branch and running out at right angles from the river $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles; thence up and parallel with the river 3 miles; thence parallel with the first line to the river, and thence down the river to the place of beginning, shall be reserved to the Creek nation for the use of the U.S. agency and shall constitute a part of the cession made by the first article whenever the agency shall be removed. (Ibid.:702)

1824

9 Mar: William Weatherford died.

1825

12 Feb: General William McIntosh signed the treaty at Indian Springs, Georgia. The Creek nation agreed to

cede to the U.S. all lands lying within the boundaries of the State of Georgia, as defined by the compact of Apr. 24, 1802, between the U.S. and Georgia, now occupied by said nation, or to which said nation claims title.

The Creek nation also cede to the U.S. all other lands occupied or claimed by them lying N. and W. of a line to be run from the first principal falls upon the Chatahoochie river, above Cowetau town, to Ockfuskee Old Town upon the Tallapoosa, thence to the Coosa river at or near a place called the Hickory Ground.

It is further agreed that the U.S. will give in exchange for the lands above ceded the like quantity, acre for acre, westward of the Mississippi, on the Arkansas river, commencing at the mouth of the Canadian fork thereof and running westward between said rivers Arkansas

and Canadian fork for quantity.
 The Creeks also relinquish all right to the two reservations at Indian Springs and on the Ocmulgee river, respectively, granted to General William McIntosh by treaty of 1821. (Ibid.:708)

Apr: McIntosh killed by Menewa (Big Warrior) for his role in signing the treaty at Indian Springs, which violated the rules of the Confederacy.

1826

24 Jan: As a result of McIntosh's death,
 The treaty concluded at Indian Springs, Feb. 12, 1825, between the Creek nation and the U.S., and ratified on Mar. 7, 1825, ...was declared null and void.
 Under the new provisions,
 The Creek nation [agreed to] cede to the U.S. -

1. All the land belonging to said nation in the state of Georgia and lying on the E. side of the middle of Chatahoochie river.
2. The general boundaries of the foregoing cession also include the tract reserved at Oakchoucoolgan creek by treaty of 1805.
3. Also tract reserved at Indian Springs by treaty of 1821.
4. Also tract reserved at General McIntosh's by treaty of 1821.
5. Also tract reserved for Creek agency by treaty of 1821.
6. The Creeks also cede a tract lying within the state of Georgia and bounded as follows: Beginning at a point on the western bank of Chatahoochie river, 47 miles below the point where the boundary line between the Creeks and Cherokees strikes the Chatahoochie river near the Buzzard's Roost, measuring the said distance in a direct line and not following the meanders of said river; and from the point of beginning running in a direct line to a point in the boundary line between the said Creeks and the Cherokees

30 miles W. of the said Buzzard's Roost; thence to the Buzzard's Roost, and thence with the middle of said river to the place of beginning. That portion of the Creek nation known as the friends and followers of the late Gen. William McIntosh having intimated to the U.S. their desire to remove W. of the Mississippi, it is agreed with their assent that a deputation of five persons shall be sent by them to examine the Indian country W. of the Mississippi not within either of the states or territories and not possessed by the Choctaws or Cherokees. And the U.S. agree to purchase for them, if the same can be done upon reasonable terms, wherever they may select, a country whose extent shall in the opinion of the President be proportioned to their numbers. (Ibid.:714)

1827

15 Nov: "The boundaries of the cession of Jan. 24, 1826, not having comprised, as was expected, all the Creek lands within the limits of Georgia, the Creek nation now therefore cedes to the U.S. all the remaining land owned or claimed by the Creek nation not previously ceded, which on actual survey may be found to lie within the chartered limits of Georgia." (Ibid.:720)

1832

24 Mar: "The Creek tribe of Indians cede to the U.S. all their land E. of the Mississippi River" (Ibid.:734).

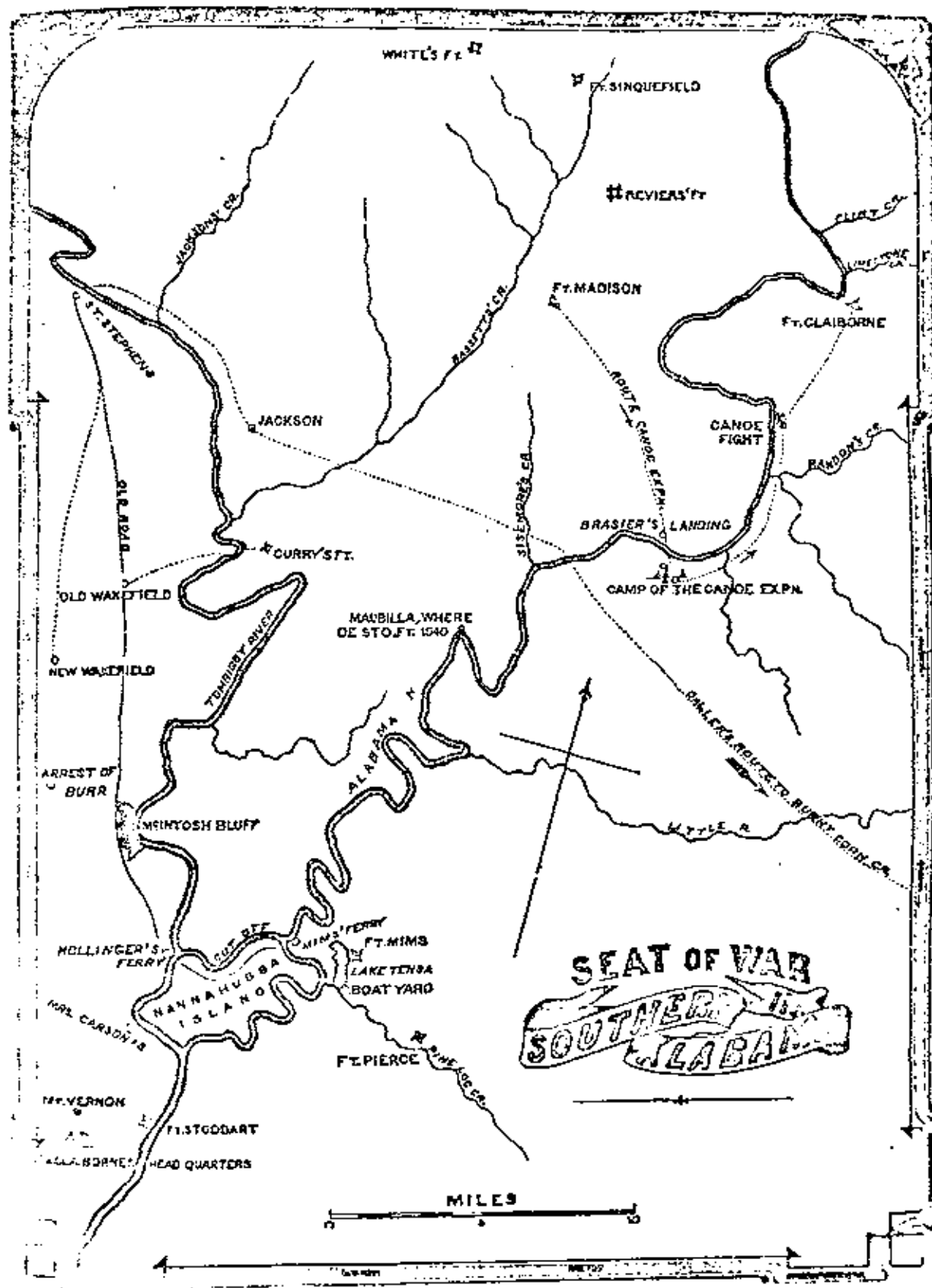
1833

14 Feb: Fort Gibson, on the Arkansas River:
"The U.S. agree, with the consent of the Creek and Cherokee delegates, this day obtained, that the Muskogee or Creek country W. of the Mississippi shall be embraced within the following

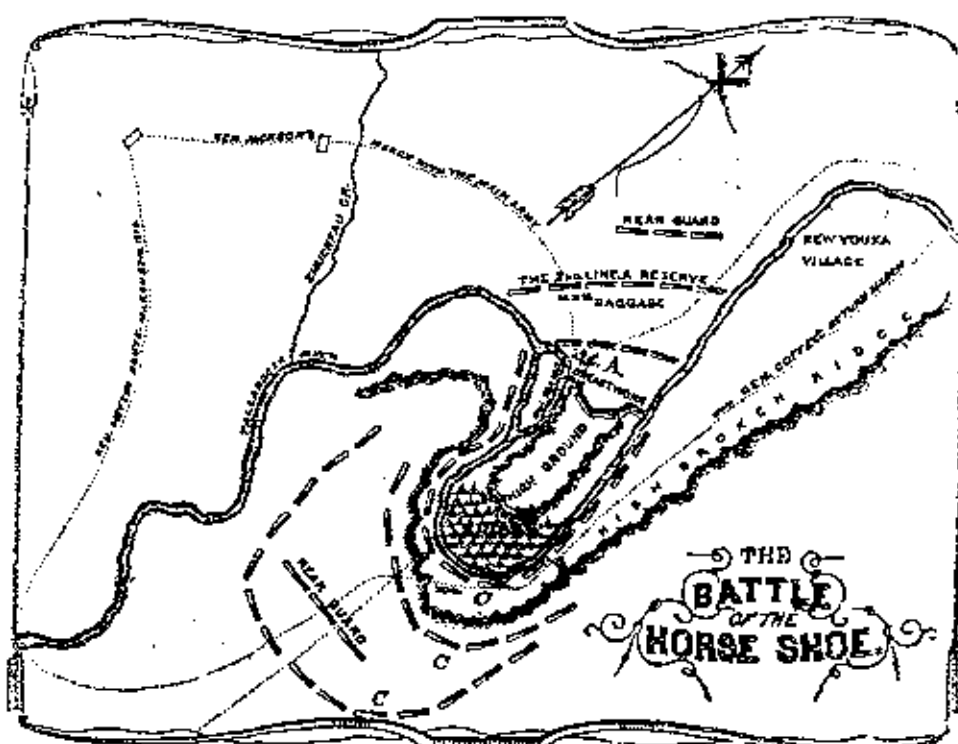
boundaries, viz: Beginning at the mouth of the N. Fork of Canadian river, and run northerly 4 miles; thence running a straight line so as to meet a line drawn from the S. bank of the Arkansas river opposite to the E. or lower bank of Grand river, at its junction with the Arkansas, and which runs a course S. 44° W. 1 mile, to a post placed in the ground; thence along said line to the Arkansas, and up the same and the Verdigris river to where the old territorial line crosses it; thence along said line N. to a point 25 miles from the Arkansas river, where the old territorial line crosses the same; thence running a line at right angles with the territorial line aforesaid, or W. to the Mexico line; thence along the said line southerly to the Canadian river, or to the boundary of the Choctaw country; thence down said river to the place of beginning. The lines hereby defining the country of the Muskogee Indians on the N. and E. bound the country of the Cherokees along these courses, as settled by the treaty concluded this day between the U.S. and that tribe. The U.S. agree to grant the foregoing lands by patent in fee simple to the Creek nation so long as they shall exist as a nation and continue to occupy the country hereby assigned them.

It is mutually agreed that the lands assigned to the Creek nation as above shall be considered the property of the whole Creek nation, including those residing E. of the Mississippi. It is also agreed that the Seminole Indians of Florida, whose removal is provided for by their treaty of May 9, 1832, shall have a permanent home on the lands set apart for the Creeks, and the Seminoles will hereafter be considered a constituent part of the Creek nation, but are to be located on some part of the Creek country by themselves.

It is agreed that the country above provided for the Creeks shall be taken in lieu of and considered to be the country provided or intended to be provided by the treaty of Jan. 24, 1826, with the Creeks, for their occupation (Ibid.:746, 748).



Map III: Seat of the War in Southern Alabama (Lossing 1869:751)



Note.—The above plan of the battle of Cholocho Littlebee, or the Horseshoe, is arranged from one in Pickett's *History of Alabama*. A shows the position of the hill from which Jackson's cannon played upon the breastworks. CCC represent the position of Coffee's command.

Map VI: Diagram of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (Lossing 1869:780)

General Jackson... proceeded from the Coosa on the 24th of March, and reached the southern extremity of the New Youca on the 27th, at a place called the Horse-Shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa. Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defence, and here the Creeks, by the direction of thier prophets, had made their last stand. Across the neck of the peninsula formed by the curvature of the river they had erected a breast-work of the greatest compactness and strength, from five to eight feet high, and provided with a double row of port-holes, artfully arranged. In this place they considered themselves perfectly secure; as the assailants could not approach without being exposed to a double and cross fire from those who lay behind the breast-works. The area thus enclosed was little short of one hundred acres. The warriors from the Oakfuskee, Oakshaya, and Hillabee towns, the Fish Ponds, and the Eupauta towns, were here collected, in number exceeding a thousand.

Early in the morning of the 27th, general Jackson, having encamped the preceding night within six miles of the Bend, detached general Coffee, with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the friendly Indian force, to pass the river at a ford about three miles below the Creek encampment, and instructed him to surround the Bend in such a manner, that none of the savages should effect their escape by crossing the river. With the remainder of his force, he advanced to the point of land which led to the front of the breast-work; and at half past ten, planted his artillery on a small eminence within eighty yards of the nearest, and two hundred and fifty of the farthest point of the works. A brisk cannonade was opened upon the centre; and a severe fire directed with musketry and rifles, whenever the Indians ventured to show themselves above or outside of their defences. In the meantime, general Coffee, having crossed below, had advanced towards the village. When within half a mile of that part which stood at the extremity of the peninsula, the Indians uttered their yell. Coffee, expecting an immediate attack, drew up his men in order of battle, and in this manner, continued to move forward. The friendly Indians had previously taken possession of the bank of the river, for the purpose of preventing the retreat of the enemy: but they no sooner heard the artillery of Jackson, and saw the approach of Coffee, than they rushed to the bank, while Coffee's militia, in consequence, were obliged to remain in order of battle. The former were unable to remain silent spectators: some began to fire across the stream, about one hundred yards wide, while others plunged into the river, and swimming across, brought back a number of canoes. In these the greater part embarked, and landing on the peninsula, advanced into the village, drove the enemy from their huts up to the fortifications, and continued to annoy them during the whole action. This movement of the Indians rendered it necessary that a part of Coffee's line should take their place.

General Jackson finding that his arrangements were complete, yielded at length to the earnest solicitations of his men to be led to the charge. The regular troops, led by colonel Williams and major Montgomery, were in a moment in possession of the nearest part of the breast-works: the militia accompanied them with equal firmness and intrepidity. Having maintained for a few minutes a very obstinate contest, muzzle to muzzle, through the port-holes, ...they succeeded in gaining the opposite side of the works. The event could no longer be

doubtful; the enemy, although many of them fought with that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were routed and cut to pieces. The whole margin of the river which surrounded the peninsula was strewn with the slain. Five hundred and fifty-seven were found dead, besides those thrown into the river by their friends or drowned in attempting to fly. No more than fifty, it was supposed, escaped. ...About three hundred women and children were taken prisoners. Jackson's loss was, twenty-six Americans killed, and one hundred and seven wounded; eighteen Cherokees killed, and thirty-six wounded; and five friendly Creeks killed, and eleven wounded.

This most decisive victory put an end to the war with the Creeks.... [Brackenridge 1846:194-196].

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